



SAUL MARTINEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Casting a Ballot Come Rain or Shine
Early voting opened Monday in Miami Beach. An assessment of the readiness of Florida and six other battleground states. Page A17.

**Six Russians
Tied to Hacks
Around Globe**

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT
and NICOLE PERLROTH

The Justice Department on Monday unsealed charges accusing six Russian military intelligence officers of an aggressive worldwide hacking campaign that caused mass disruption and cost billions of dollars by attacking targets like a French presidential election, the electricity grid in Ukraine and internet access at the 2018 Winter Olympics.

Prosecutors said the suspects were from the same unit that helped distribute stolen Democratic emails in the 2016 election. Though Justice Department officials played down the timing of the announcement two weeks before the presidential election, it nevertheless served as American officials’ latest censure of Russia’s hostile intrusions into other countries’ affairs, even as President Trump has adopted a more accommodating stance toward Moscow.

The prosecutors focused on seven breaches that together showed how Russia sought in recent years to use its hacking abilities to undermine democratic institutions and ideals, retaliate against enemies and destroy rival economies.

“No country has weaponized its cybercapabilities as maliciously or irresponsibly as Russia, wantonly causing unprecedented damage to pursue small tactical advantages and to satisfy fits of spite,” said John C. Demers, the assistant attorney general for national security.

He added, “Their cyberattack combined the emotional maturity of a petulant child with the resources of a nation-state.”

A spokesman for the Russian Embassy in Washington did not

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Conspiracy Theory Creeps From Fringe to G.O.P.

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG

DALTON, Ga. — Sitting in the local Republican office most days is a lifelong conservative named Diane Putnam, who got her first taste of politics when Dwight D. Eisenhower was president and she was a little girl telling people that she liked Ike.

She still does. But these days, what really grabs Ms. Putnam’s attention is talk of a satanic criminal conspiracy hatched by a cabal of “deep state” child molesters who are seeking to take down President Trump. In other words, she believes in QAnon. She insists she is just one of many.

“The large majority of people, they understand about QAnon,” Ms. Putnam, the Republican chairwoman of this small Georgia city, said in a recent interview.

“Those that don’t know,” she

**How Republican Voters
Brought QAnon Into
the Mainstream**

added, “they have not looked into really what it’s about.”

Across the country, Republicans like Ms. Putnam — long-standing party members who could hardly be described as fringe radicals — are embracing QAnon. The followers of this online phenomenon believe that the Democratic establishment and much of the Republican elite are deeply corrupt, and that Mr. Trump was delivered to save America from both. Urged on by the president, whose espousal of conspiracy theories has only in-

tensified in the waning weeks of his campaign, QAnon adherents are pushing such ideas into the conservative mainstream alongside more traditional issues like low taxes and limited government.

QAnon’s growing influence inside the Trump campaign was underscored when the president again refused to condemn the movement after he was asked about it at his town hall in Miami this past Thursday night. Mr. Trump, who over the summer praised QAnon adherents for their love of America, first claimed to know nothing of the movement and then, when pressed, said: “What I do hear about it is they are very strongly against pedophilia. I agree with that. I do agree with that.”

There was no acknowledgment

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CARLOS BERNATE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Seeing a Workplace as a Prison
Migrant workers on Virginia’s Eastern Shore say their coronavirus lockdown goes too far. Page A6.

Grief, Rage and Arrests Across France After Teacher Is Beheaded

By ADAM NOSSITER

PARIS — France on Monday unleashed a broad crackdown on Muslims accused of extremism, carrying out dozens of raids, vowing to shut down aid groups and threatening to expel foreigners as anger swept the country following

the decapitation of a high school teacher for showing caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad in class.

Many of those swept up in raids were already in police files for showing “signals” of potential radicalization, like preaching radicalized sermons or sharing hate messages on social networks,

government officials said. More than 200 others — the bulk already in prison — were threatened with a rare mass expulsion.

But other groups targeted in the raids included Muslim associations previously given government subsidies for their work promoting better civic relations, and

only 15 of the people arrested had any connection to the gruesome attack on Friday.

The scope of the killing was a measure of how the response of Samuel Paty, a teacher in a suburb north of Paris, had reopened old wounds in France. The nation re-

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**Calling Fauci a Disaster,
Trump Shrugs at a Spike
Of Infections in the U.S.**

**President Belittles His Scientific Advisers
as ‘These Idiots’ as Election Nears**

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump attacked Dr. Anthony S. Fauci as “a disaster” on Monday and said, despite signs that the nation was headed toward another coronavirus peak, that people were “tired” of hearing about the virus from “these idiots” in the government.

The broadside, during a conference call with campaign staff just two weeks before Election Day, was hardly the closing message Trump advisers were looking for. It threatened to focus the electorate squarely on the president’s coronavirus response and pitted him against Dr. Fauci, who as the nation’s top infectious disease expert is a career government scientist the public likes and trusts far more than Mr. Trump.

In increasingly vocal terms, Dr. Fauci has been separating himself from the White House and warning Americans to “hunker down” and brace for a difficult winter — a message at odds with Mr. Trump’s repeated, if false, assurances that the nation is “rounding the corner” on a pandemic that has claimed about 220,000 American lives.

“People are tired of Covid,” Mr. Trump complained on the call, which several reporters were invited into. “I have the biggest rallies I’ve ever had. And we have Covid. People are saying: ‘Whatever. Just leave us alone.’ They’re tired of it.”

He added, “People are tired of hearing Fauci and these idiots, all these idiots who got it wrong.”

Dr. Fauci’s cautionary words are borne out by the numbers. More than 70,450 new coronavi-

rus cases were reported in the United States on Friday, the highest figure since July 24, according to a New York Times database. More than 900 new deaths were recorded. And over the past week, there have been an average of 56,615 cases per day, an increase of 30 percent from the average two weeks earlier.

But beyond pushing for a vaccine, the Trump administration has refrained from confronting the threat aggressively, pushing instead to fully open the economy and get children back in school.

The White House coronavirus task force, which met daily at the outset of the pandemic, now meets about once a week and hosts a weekly conference call with governors, typically to address specific topics like testing and nursing home guidance. Its agenda is largely focused on nuts-and-bolts matters like vaccine reimbursements, state and national stockpiles and whether cruise

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POOL PHOTO BY GRAEME JENNINGS

Statistics support Dr. Anthony S. Fauci’s caution on the virus.

**Obama-Era Aid
A Flawed Guide
For Virus Relief**

By NEIL IRWIN

The person taking the oath of office on Jan. 20 will face an economic mess.

That will be true whether it’s Joseph R. Biden Jr. or President Trump, and true whether or not the off-and-on negotiations over a new round of pandemic relief yield anything.

Given mass failures of small businesses and continuing astronomical numbers of people filing for jobless benefits, the president will face a situation uncannily similar to the crisis Mr. Biden and President Barack Obama faced a dozen years earlier. If it is Mr. Biden who comes to power, along with Democratic majorities in the House and the Senate, he will have something rare: the chance to look at the lessons of recent history and have a do-over.

Mr. Obama’s first legislative priority, the \$787 billion American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009, shows what can go wrong when the government spends money on a mass scale to fix an economic crisis. Mainstream economists judge that the legislation helped stabilize financial markets and start an economic expansion that would last a decade. But it also proved underpowered and politically toxic, with lasting consequences for Mr. Obama’s presidency.

It offered fuel for the president’s enemies to portray him as a profligate deficit spender. Yet it was also insufficient to generate a robust recovery; the unemployment rate the month of the 2010

Continued on Page A23

**Trump’s Policies
Fill the Docket
Of U.S. Justices**

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court agreed on Monday to review two major Trump administration immigration initiatives, adding them to a docket now crowded with cases that will test President Trump’s agenda and policies.

The court, which might have been expected to tread cautiously while it is short-handed in the aftermath of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg’s death last month, has instead seemed determined to weigh in on many aspects of the Trump presidency, even if it could end soon.

The cases the court took on Monday are challenges to a program that has forced at least 60,000 asylum seekers to wait in Mexico while their requests are heard and the diversion of \$2.5 billion in Pentagon money to build a barrier on the southwestern border.

In the past week alone, the court handed Mr. Trump at least interim victories by allowing his administration to cut short fieldwork for the 2020 census and by fast-tracking a case on whether it may exclude undocumented immigrants from the population figures used to allocate congressional seats. The court’s actions raised the prospect that it might allow the president to influence the reapportionment process to benefit Republican states even if he loses the election.

In the coming days, the court is likely to act on a last-ditch emergency request from Mr. Trump to

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DISTORTIONS

A leading science adviser to President Trump disputed masks’ value against the coronavirus on Twitter, setting off a furor over health and free speech. Experts have stood firm that face coverings do help. PAGE A20



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Brain Surgery for Cronutt

Scientists want to help mammals like Cronutt, a seal with epilepsy that may have been caused by toxins. PAGE D1

Jeff Bezos’ Other Company

Blue Origin’s New Shepard rocket has found a niche with NASA and private science experiments. PAGE D1

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-11

From Heart of a Classroom

Teachers find themselves responsible not just for children’s education, but also for essential child care as parents struggle to get back to work. PAGE A10

INTERNATIONAL A12-16

Sudan Comes Off Terror List

The State Department’s move clears the way for the African nation to seek international assistance. PAGE A14

The Great ‘Gatsby’ Challenge

An “immersive theater” production in London tries to keep the audience involved at a safe distance. PAGE A12

BUSINESS B1-6

Empty City, Empty Registers

The pandemic made Pret A Manger’s biggest strength — hundreds of stores in central London — its biggest weakness overnight. PAGE B1

SPORTSTUESDAY B7-9

World Series a Clash of Coasts

The Los Angeles Dodgers and the Tampa Bay Rays will decide Major League Baseball supremacy, in Texas, starting on Tuesday night. PAGE B7

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Bret Stephens

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Still Finding Reason to Smile

David Letterman is back with his Netflix interview series and a perspective altered by the pandemic. PAGE C1



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Of Interest

NOTEWORTHY FACTS FROM TODAY’S PAPER

A small contingent of the population carries a mutation that makes them immune to the odious funk that wafts off fish, according to a study in the journal *Current Biology*.
A Trait That Makes The Stinkiest Fish Smell Just Fine D2

Although the Transportation Security Administration screened more than a million people at airport checkpoints on Sunday, the highest total since mid-March, the figure was down about 60 percent compared with the same day a year ago.
Virus Briefing B5

Research has shown that female baboons with strong relationships live longer than isolated females.
The Value of Friends, With Benefits or Not D2



AURÉLIA DURAND

Besides the slow loris, a primate found in Asia, scientists know of just five other types of venomous mammals: vampire bats, platypuses, solenodons and two species of shrew.
You Want a Piece of Me? Why Slow Lorises Are So Quick to Anger D2

It cost the Dance Theater of Harlem over \$100,000 to institute a coronavirus “bubble” for three weeks at a secluded residency center.
Helping a Bubble Stay Afloat C1

In August, the weekly sales of Pret, a British sandwich and coffee chain, were about 5.5 million pounds (\$7.1 million), barely more than in August 2010, when the company had about 150 fewer stores.
‘When You’re in Survival Mode, You’ve Got to Try Things.’ B1

The indie rapper Open Mike Eagle first met the comedian Hannibal Buress at Southern Illinois University, where he was Buress’s resident adviser in a dorm.
Rapper’s Vulnerability Shaped New Album C6

The Conversation

FOUR OF THE MOST READ, SHARED AND DISCUSSED POSTS FROM ACROSS NYTIMES.COM

2020 Election Live Updates

On Monday, President Trump attacked Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the nation’s leading infectious disease specialist, as “a disaster” during a call with campaign staff that reporters listened in on. “People are tired of Covid,” Mr. Trump said on the call. This was Monday’s most read Times article.

New York Post Published Hunter Biden Report Amid Newsroom Doubts

Katie Robertson reported that a front-page New York Post article published last week, which suggested that Joseph R. Biden Jr. had used his position to enrich his son Hunter when he was vice president, was written mostly by a staff reporter who refused to be credited with the article because he had concerns over the article’s accuracy.

With Covid-19 Under Control, China’s Economy Surges Ahead

The Chinese economy rose 4.9 percent in the July-to-September quarter compared with the same months last year. China has almost no local transmission of the coronavirus now, while the United States and Europe face another wave.



KEITH BRADSHAW/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Recipe: Perfect Chocolate Chip Cookies

The dough for the cookies of the British pastry chef Ravneet Gill is rolled into balls right away, as opposed to chilling first, giving the cookies gentle domes in the center. It also omits vanilla, the world’s second most expensive spice.

Spotlight

ADDITIONAL REPORTAGE AND REPARTEE FROM OUR JOURNALISTS

In an episode of “The Field,” an election season podcast from The Times, the political reporter Jennifer Medina went to Arizona to learn more about the Latino vote this year. She met with Tomás Robles Jr., a grassroots organizer for social change in the state, and the two discussed President Trump’s growing popularity with Latino men, a trend that could be decisive this election. Here is an edited excerpt from the podcast. (Mr. Robles uses a gender-neutral term for Latino here.)

Tomás Robles Jr. Trump almost comes off as the last person to be proud of masculinity to some of these men. He’s loud, he’s obnoxious, he “takes what he wants,” he doesn’t succumb to political correctness. In a way, it’s almost like being in high school and liking the cool kid again.

If you really unpack the layers, there is still this belief in an economic and colored caste system. That if you keep moving up, in terms of socioeconomic, you will be able to classify yourself as white. They do believe that as an American, as long as you pull yourself up by the boot straps, then you can be successful in this country.

Joe Biden has not been able to put out a message for Latinx men who are feeling insecure about their economic realities. His message is not resonating with them to the point where they believe that he can lead them to economic prosperity at a level higher than Trump. And for a lot of male Latinx voters who aren’t directly impacted by Mr. Trump’s policies, the economics is what matters most.

Just last night I got into a Facebook debate with my friend who is Latinx. He is a real estate guy here. When it came to Trump taxes, he laughed and said, “Man, I need to get his accountant.” They see themselves as future billionaires in a non-billionaire situation.

Listen to “The Field” at [nytimes.com/thefield](https://www.nytimes.com/thefield).

Quote of the Day

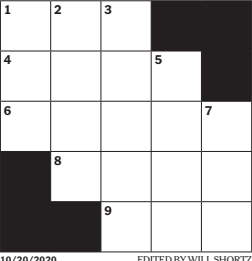
BLOCKBUSTER TRADE HAS BEEN GOOD FOR BOTH SIDES B9

“I’m always chasing greatness. I feel like we’re nowhere close to where we can be.”

STEFON DIGGS, a wide receiver for the Buffalo Bills, on what has so far been a strong season for himself and for the team.

The Mini Crossword

BY JOEL FAGLIANO



10/20/2020

EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

- ACROSS**
- 1 Hairdo goo
 - 4 Connector of car wheels
 - 6 Nobel Prize category for Malala Yousafzai
 - 8 “You’re killin’ me ...”
 - 9 +
- DOWN**
- 1 Parent company of Athleta and Banana Republic
 - 2 Company higher-up
 - 3 Animal that Prince Kuzco is transformed into in Disney’s “The Emperor’s New Groove”
 - 5 Nobel Prize category for Paul Krugman, informally
 - 7 Fitting answer for the last clue of this puzzle

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

	W	N	B	A
T	H	I	R	D
S	E	X	E	D
A	R	E	A	S
R	E	D	D	

Here to Help

A RECIPE FOR BROWN BUTTER SKILLET CORNBREAD

This lightly sweet cornbread has a crunchy, buttery crust, which comes from being baked in a hot skillet. If you have a cast-iron pan, this is the time to use it. The heavy, heat-retaining material will give you the darkest color (which equals the most flavor). But any large ovenproof skillet will work. If you don’t have a skillet big enough to hold all the batter, you can either cut the recipe in half or bake the cornbread in a 9-by-13-inch pan (in which case, brown the butter first in a saucepan). **MELISSA CLARK**

TIME: 1 HOUR
YIELD: 12 SERVINGS

- ¾ cup/170 grams unsalted butter (1½ sticks)
- ½ cup/120 milliliters maple syrup
- 2¼ cups/530 milliliters buttermilk
- 3 large eggs
- 1½ cups/180 grams yellow cornmeal, fine or medium-coarse grind
- ½ cup/65 grams whole-wheat flour
- ½ cup/60 grams all-purpose flour
- 1½ tablespoons baking powder
- 1½ teaspoons kosher salt
- ½ teaspoon baking soda

- 1. Heat oven to 375 degrees. On the stovetop, in a 11- or 12-inch skillet (ovenproof and preferably cast iron), melt the butter over medium heat. Cook, swirling pan to lightly coat sides and bottom, until the foam subsides and the butter turns a deep nut brown. (Watch carefully to see that it does not burn.)
- 2. Pour brown butter into a large bowl. (Do not wipe out the pan.) Whisk the maple syrup into the butter, then whisk in buttermilk. The mixture should be cool to the touch; if not, let



ANDREW SCRIVANI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

cool before whisking in the eggs. Then whisk in the cornmeal, flours, baking powder, salt and baking soda.

3. If the skillet is no longer hot (cast iron retains heat longer than other metals), reheat it briefly on the stove for a few minutes. Scrape batter back into it. Bake until the top is golden brown and a toothpick inserted into it emerges clean, 30 to 40 minutes. Cool in the skillet for 10 minutes before slicing.

For more recipes, visit [NYT Cooking](https://www.nytimes.com/nytcooking) at [nytcooking.com](https://www.nytimes.com/nytcooking).

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Tracking an Outbreak

The New York Times

Coronavirus Update

More Than 40 Million Global Infections

New Cases Up 30% in the United States

Outbreaks in Belgium Like a ‘Tsunami’

By JAMES BARRON

Coronavirus cases worldwide passed 40 million on Monday, with at least 1.1 million deaths. In the United States, the nation with the most cases — 8.21 million, or about 20 percent of the total — the sniping from President Trump grew louder. He attacked Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the nation’s top infectious disease expert, as a “disaster.”

The president complained that “people are tired of hearing Fauci and these idiots, all these idiots who got it wrong.” He also said that “people are tired of Covid,” adding: “People are saying, ‘Whatever. Just leave us alone.’ They’re tired of it.”

The president’s outbursts, in a conference call with campaign aides and on Twitter, came two weeks before an election that might well serve as a referendum on his administration’s handling of the biggest public health crisis since the Spanish flu pandemic 102 years ago. And the coronavirus, which had waned in much of the country as summer faded into fall, is surging again.

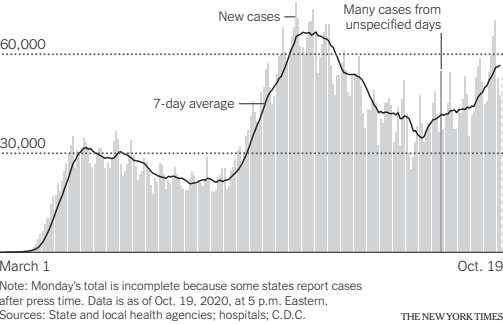
New cases across the country have increased 30 percent in the past week, with an average of 56,615 new cases a day. Cases are rising in 31 states where they were already high, relative to the population. Caseloads are also increasing in another 13 states and in Washington, D.C., where they had been lower.

The president assailed Dr. Fauci less than 24 hours after Dr. Fauci said on national television that it was “absolutely” no surprise that Mr. Trump had contracted the coronavirus, given the president’s disdain for masks and social distancing. Dr. Fauci told the CBS News program “60 Minutes” on Sunday that he had watched with concern the White House ceremony at which the Supreme Court nomination of Judge Amy Coney Barrett was announced. “When I saw that on TV, I said, ‘Oh, my goodness, nothing good can come out of that — that’s got to be a problem,’” he said. “Sure enough, it turned out to be a superspreader event.” Mr. Trump announced on Twitter on Oct. 2 that he had tested positive for the coronavirus and went to Walter Reed National Military Medical Center later that day.

Dr. Fauci also said on “60 Minutes” that he had frequently been blocked from going on television. Mr. Trump countered on Twitter on Monday that Dr. Fauci “seems to get more airtime than anybody since the late, great, Bob Hope.” Dr. Fauci said last week that he had not been to the White House in person in two weeks. And Mr. Trump’s new science adviser, Dr. Scott W. Atlas, has come to overshadow Dr. Fauci and Dr. Deborah L. Birx, the administration’s coronavirus response coordinator. Dr. Atlas has embraced the ideas in a petition called the Great Barrington Declaration, principally herd immunity, the point at which enough people have been infected to stop transmission of the virus.

New Coronavirus Cases Announced Daily in U.S.

As of Monday evening, more than **8,243,200** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the virus, according to a New York Times database.



Getting Ready for a Vaccine

Expectations that a coronavirus vaccine will be available continue to build, even as several clinical trials remain on hold. UNICEF, the world’s largest single buyer of vaccines, said on Monday that it was already stockpiling syringes so it would be prepared when the first coronavirus vaccines were approved for distribution. Its goal is to amass one billion syringes, along with five million safety boxes for disposing of used needles. It is also buying solar-powered refrigerators that can store vaccines in countries where electricity is unreliable or conventional refrigerators go unrepaired.

In the United States, the drugstore chain CVS Health said it would hire 15,000 employees to prepare for expected increases in coronavirus and flu cases. Of the new workers, more than two-thirds will be licensed pharmacy technicians whose responsibilities will include giving coronavirus tests and filling prescriptions. They may also be called on to dispense a vaccine if federal health agencies allow pharmacy technicians to do so.

Lisa Bisaccia, the company’s chief human resources officer, said that pharmacies need additional personnel every year as flu season closes in. But this year, she added, “we’re estimating a much greater need” because of the pandemic.

Second Wave in Europe

Desperate to avoid full-scale lockdowns as a second wave builds, several European countries imposed new restrictions, some more targeted than others.

Want Belgian beer at a Belgian bar? Not for at least a month. Bars and restaurants in Belgium shut down on Monday, and a nighttime curfew went into effect. The idea is to limit social interactions, and thus transmission, in a country where the health minister said the coronavirus was “really very close to a tsunami.” Belgium added nearly 60,000 new cases in the past week, or 525 for every 100,000 residents, the world’s third-highest per capita total, after Andorra and the Czech Republic.

Switzerland, which has added just over 14,000 cases in the past week, or about 19 percent of its total since the pandemic began, has made mask-wearing a national obligation. The Swiss government also banned gatherings of more than 15 people in public places.

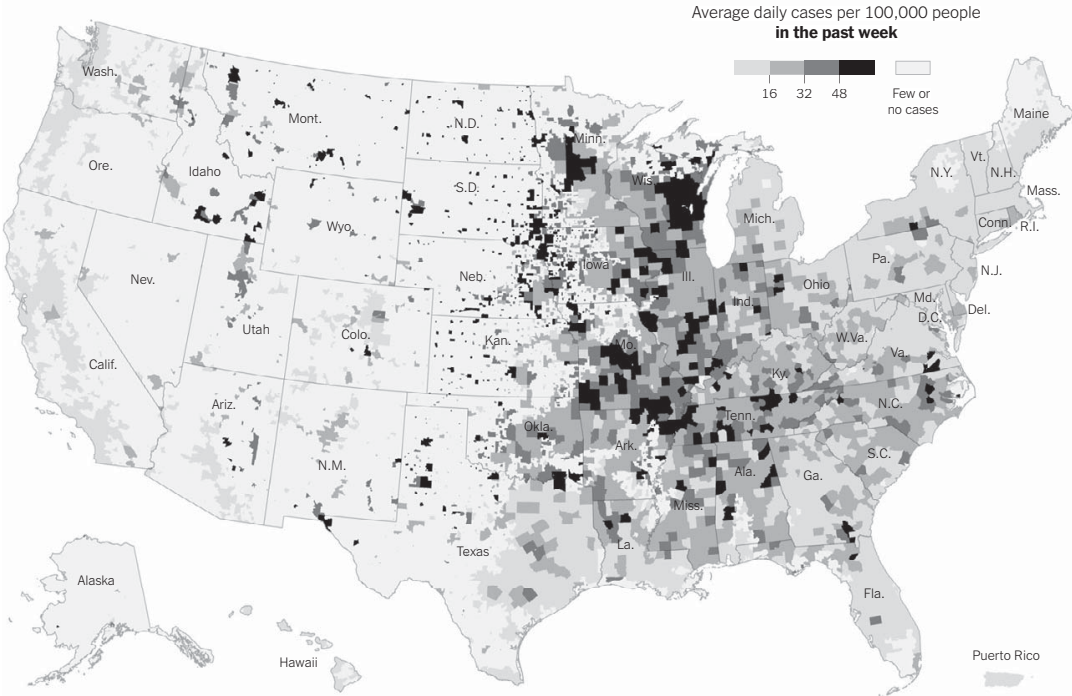
Poland, where cases have soared since schools reopened last month, turned conference rooms in a soccer stadium in Warsaw into a field hospital as the country’s de facto leader went into quarantine. Who will treat patients at the makeshift hospital is an open question. Poland has fewer doctors per capita than most other European countries.

The de facto leader — Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who became deputy prime minister early this month — had come in contact with someone who was infected. Mr. Kaczynski did not wear a mask when he presented an award at a ceremony last week, and briefly took off his mask at his swearing-in ceremony on Oct. 6.

Coronavirus Update wraps up the day’s developments with information from across the virus report.

Hot Spots in the United States

As of Monday evening, more than **8,243,200** people across every state, plus Washington, D.C., and four U.S. territories, have tested positive for the coronavirus, according to a New York Times database. More than **219,900** people with the virus have died in the United States.



Sources: State and local health agencies. The map shows the share of population with a new reported case over the last week. Parts of a county with a population density lower than 10 people per square mile are not shaded. Data for Rhode Island is shown at the state level because county level data is infrequently reported. Data is as of Oct. 19, 2020, at 5 p.m., Eastern.

BRITAIN

Northern Mayor Balks at New Rules From London

By MARK LANDLER

LONDON — Britain’s desperate attempt to curb a second wave of the coronavirus has exposed multiple fractures in its politics and society, but perhaps none as jagged as that between Prime Minister Boris Johnson and the mayor of Greater Manchester, the country’s second-largest urban area.

For days, the mayor, Andy Burnham, has been engaged in a war of words with Mr. Johnson and his ministers over the government’s plan to elevate hard-hit Manchester to the highest level of restrictions. That would shut down pubs, bars and gyms and forbid all socializing by people from different households.

Mr. Burnham says the restrictions would devastate the city’s economy, and that the central government has not offered adequate aid to the people who would lose their jobs during the lockdown. He has been a nearly ubiquitous presence on television, waging a fierce rebellion on behalf of his 2.8 million constituents.

“People can’t just be pressurized into it,” Mr. Burnham said of the new restrictions, to Sky News on Monday. “I’m not going to be pressurized into it. And I’m not just going to kind of roll over at the sight of a check.”

Mr. Burnham’s resistance is rooted in the long-held grievances of people in the old industrial cities of the north of England toward the politically dominant government in London. While it has delegated some powers to regional authorities in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, the Westminster government retains highly centralized control over England and its major urban centers.

But the standoff between Manchester and London also reflects mounting frustration with Mr. Johnson’s erratic, often opaque handling of the pandemic, as well as a dash of ambition and old-fashioned political maneuvering.

Mr. Burnham, a 50-year-old native of Liverpool, is a Labour Party stalwart who twice ran unsuccessfully for party leader. Having served as health secretary under Prime Minister Gordon Brown, he traded in his seat in the opposition in 2016 to run for mayor of Greater Manchester, a newly created post. He is responsible for a far-flung metropolitan region, though he has less power than big-city mayors in the United States.

“With his limited powers, Andy Burnham is taking advantage of his legitimacy,” said Tony Travers, an expert in urban affairs at the London School of Economics. “He has clearly sensed that the central government is weak.”

Mr. Burnham’s clash with London carries echoes of the ill will between President Trump and Mayor Bill de Blasio of New York City. As with them, much of the dispute comes down to complaints over a lack of financial support. But Mr. de Blasio has considerably more power than Mr. Burnham, who has little control over budgetary matters and must obtain the consent of council leaders for many decisions.



Projections show that intensive care units in Greater Manchester could be full by next month.



“People can’t just be pressurized into it,” Mayor Andy Burnham of Greater Manchester said of heightened restrictions.

What Mr. Burnham does have is an antenna for national politics — and for the fact that Mr. Johnson won a landslide victory in the election last year by promising to close the economic gap between England’s more prosperous south and the struggling regions of the Midlands and the north. That message lured many traditional Labour voters to the Conservative Party, shattering Labour’s vaunted “red wall.”

Mr. Johnson, analysts said, could easily alienate those voters if he foists an economically ruinous lockdown on them.

“There is a sense,” Mr. Travers said, “that people in Greater Manchester are having things done to them by a distant government.”

Mr. Burnham has complained of being cut out of the deliberations over when to impose the heightened restrictions, saying he often learns of decisions from press reports attributed to unnamed Downing Street officials. And he says the government does not share the epidemiological data that is driving its decisions, which makes it impossible to judge whether a lockdown is necessary in one place but not another.

There is no debate that Man-

chester was hit hard by the resurgence of the virus at the end of the summer, in part because of its large student population. Its current rate of infection is 432 cases per 100,000 people, well above the national average. But its rate of cases has declined from a peak of 583 per 100,000 in the seven days before Oct. 3.

Government officials said that infections were continuing to rise there among vulnerable older people, and that based on current projections, intensive care units at hospitals in Greater Manchester would reach capacity by Nov. 8. The supply of hospital beds, officials said, is a more relevant barometer than cases.

Mr. Johnson’s aides are frustrated by Mr. Burnham’s resistance, which some view as cynical posturing. On Sunday, Michael Gove, a senior cabinet minister who holds the title of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, urged the mayor and his allies to “put aside for a moment some of the political positioning they’ve indulged in.”

But while the government has the power to impose health requirements on any city in England, Mr. Johnson has been reluctant to do it over the objections of

the mayors. Public adherence to the rules depends in no small part on how faithfully the local authorities enforce them.

As the talks between Manchester and London dragged on Monday, the government began separate negotiations with officials in South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, and Nottinghamshire about elevating those regions to so-called Tier 3 status. Wales, which controls its own health policy under the terms of the United Kingdom’s limited self-government, plans to impose a temporary lockdown on the entire region.

All told, Britain reported 18,804 new cases on Monday, and 80 deaths.

Before elevating Liverpool to the highest-risk category, Mr. Johnson struck an agreement with Steve Rotherham, the Labour mayor of the Liverpool city region. The prime minister hailed that deal as an example of bipartisan cooperation, and clearly hoped it would be a template for other cities.

Mr. Burnham, however, is demanding that the government pay 80 percent of the wages of people who lose their jobs because of the lockdown — the same compensation it offered in the national wage subsidy program that is winding down this month. So far, the government has offered to offset two-thirds of lost wages.

Mr. Burnham has called on Mr. Johnson and the Labour Party leader, Keir Starmer, to hold a vote in Parliament on the financial aid that the government should offer cities placed under the highest level of lockdown. But Mr. Johnson, who has kept control over the pandemic response tightly in Downing Street, rejected that.

“Establishing clear national entitlements of the kind we had during the first lockdown,” Mr. Burnham said, “will create a sense of fairness, which in turn would help build public support for, and compliance with, any new restrictions.”



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MIGRANT WORKERS

No Virus, but No Liberty, Either. Is It Worth It?

Employees complain that a tomato grower's lockdown creates prisonlike conditions.

By MIRIAM JORDAN

CHERITON, Va. — Each spring, a thousand or more Mexican tomato pickers descend on Virginia's Eastern Shore to toil in the fields of Lipman Family Farms, enduring long hours stooped over to pluck the plump fruit and then hoisting it on their shoulders onto a waiting truck. An adept worker will fill a 32-pound bucket every two and a half minutes, earning 65 cents for each one.

The region is considered the toughest on the tomato circuit: Heavy rain brings the harvest to a halt for days at a time and can cut into production, a source of anxiety for people eager to maximize their earnings in the United States. The muck ruins shoes and turns moist feet into hamburger.

This year, there is a new and even more difficult working condition: To keep the coronavirus from spreading and jeopardizing the harvest, Lipman has put its crews on lockdown. With few exceptions, they have been ordered to remain either in the camps, where they are housed, or the fields, where they toil.

The restrictions have allowed Lipman's tomato operations to run smoothly, with a substantially lower caseload than many farms and processing facilities across the country that have wrestled to contain large outbreaks. But they have caused some workers to complain that their worksite has become like a prison.

In Virginia, gone are the weekly outings to Walmart to stock up on provisions; to El Ranchito, the Mexican convenience store, to buy shell-shaped concha pastries; and to the laundromat to machine wash heavily soiled garments.

"You put up with a lot already. I never expected to lose my freedom," said Martinez, 39, who is in his third year working in the tomato fields along the East Coast. He said workers spent months on end without interacting with anyone at all outside the farms, though Lipman eventually relented and organized a carefully controlled trip for groceries each week.

"You're practically a slave," said another worker, Jesus, who like others interviewed for this article asked to use only a first or last name for fear of losing his job and, with it, his permission to work in the United States.

Lipman's battle with its workers underscores one of the signature conundrums of the coronavirus pandemic. Locking down its employees — a drastic measure that would be intolerable to most American workers — appears to have kept both the employees and the community safe. But at what cost?

The large tomato enterprise has been able to impose the restrictions on its workers because they are beholden to the company for their visa, housing and wages. Invited to the United States under one of the country's only remaining temporary worker programs, employees who refuse to comply could face the cancellation of their contracts and immediate expulsion from the country.

"If employers in any industry were to tell their American workers, 'You cannot leave your worksite,' there would be a societal outcry," said Jason Yarashes, lead attorney for the Legal Aid Justice Center in Virginia, who has met with concerned farmworkers. "But, for farmworkers, this level of control is deemed acceptable."

By the time they arrived on the Eastern Shore, a spit of land dangling off the Delmarva Peninsula where tomato fields stretch all the way to the horizon, the workers were already demoralized by the restrictions they had endured earlier in the harvest at Lipman farms in Florida and South Carolina.

"In years past, when we didn't work, we were free to go to the beach, visit friends," said Oscar, 36, who worked in the United States to pay his ailing wife's medical bills. "Now, they don't let us go anywhere."

Agriculture workers are especially vulnerable to infection. They are often housed in cramped trailers or barracks, sharing rooms, kitchens and bathrooms, and are transported to the fields with up to 40 people on a bus.

Once the coronavirus infects a worker, it is almost impossible to prevent it from ripping through entire crews. Major outbreaks have been reported from vegetable and fruit farms in Florida and California to meat and produce packing plants in South Dakota and Washington.

Purdue University researchers estimate that more than 149,500 farmworkers had contracted



Tomato fields on Virginia's Eastern Shore, top, stretch as far as the eye can see. Agriculture workers, often housed in cramped trailers or barracks, below, are especially vulnerable to infection. Lipman Family Farms relented and organized a carefully controlled trip to the grocery store each week, left.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY CARLOS BERNATE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Covid-19 as of Oct. 16. Jayson Lusk, the agricultural economist leading the study in collaboration with Microsoft, estimated that 3,750 have died.

Many farming operations rely on undocumented immigrants for a vast majority of their labor force; like American citizens, they generally live in the country year-round and go home at night to homes and families. Lipman, by contrast, has hired field workers under the H-2A agricultural visa program, one of the few temporary worker programs still in place after President Trump suspended the others this year to protect Americans from competition for jobs.

Under the program, laborers who travel across the Mexico border by the thousands ahead of the harvest each year are transported to pick strawberries in California, apples in Washington, tobacco in North Carolina — and tomatoes along the Eastern Seaboard.

Growers sponsored a record 258,000 workers for the temporary visas during the 2019 fiscal year. Lipman, which farms tens of thousands of acres across several states, received approval from the Labor Department for 2,658 of those positions.

The company would not disclose total coronavirus case numbers, but employees said they knew of no cases at the Virginia operation following about six infections that occurred before most of the seasonal workers arrived. Kent Shoemaker, Lipman's chief executive, said the company was proud of its record protecting both its employees and the surrounding communities.

"As of today, we do not have any confirmed Covid-19 cases on our farms or in our packing facilities," Mr. Shoemaker said in mid-October.

"And because of these practices over the last few months," he said, referring to the lockdown measures, "our positive cases among farmworkers have remained substantially below the positivity rate in each of the communities within which we operate."

Through the course of the pandemic, the federal government has yet to establish enforceable safety measures to contain the spread of the virus at agricultural operations.

Only 11 states stepped in to require growers to test workers, sanitize workplaces, enforce social distancing and provide protective gear. About 20 states issued unenforceable guidance, and the rest did nothing.

At Lipman, Mr. Shoemaker said, "we acted early to put measures in place that meet or exceed the latest public health guidance from the Centers for Disease Control," which recommended isolation for people who had become infected and 14 days of quarantine

for those who came in contact with them.

The Fair Food Program, a Florida-based initiative that promotes humane treatment of farmworkers, credits the grower with keeping the tomato pickers healthy by restricting them to the farms.

"By limiting workers' potential contacts with the coronavirus, the decision significantly reduced the risk of contagion in Lipman's camps and surely contributed to

extremely low rates of infection," said Laura Safer Espinoza, director of Fair Food's standards council.

But Mr. Yarashes said Lipman could have offered workers protections short of locking them down, such as assigning fewer workers to a barrack, making more bus runs to the fields and allowing state health authorities to conduct widespread testing in the camps.

The Virginia Department of Health was rebuffed in early June

when it contacted Lipman about performing large-scale testing of the workers who were expected in large numbers the next month.

"The response we got from Lipman was 'No, we are not interested in testing all our workers,'" said Jonathan Richardson, chief operating officer for the Eastern Shore Health District.

Without health insurance or paid sick leave, many workers said they feared coming forward if

they had symptoms and worried that positive tests could cost them earnings, Mr. Yarashes said. "They were worried about being quarantined for two weeks without pay."

Lipman does not provide paid sick leave for the field workers and is not legally required to.

In interviews, five workers employed at Lipman's tomato operation said they felt fortunate to have been selected for the H-2A program after being interviewed in Mexico by labor brokers representing Lipman. In the United States, they could make in a day what it took a week to earn at home. If they proved to be reliable and productive, they would be invited back year after year.

"You kill yourself on the job, but thank God I have this work," said Oscar, who was in his fourth season working for the company.

The workers remain in the country for four to 10 months, on average. In March, "the situation got complicated because of the pandemic," said Martinez, who arrived last year. "They told us we couldn't go anywhere. If they caught us leaving the camp, we would not be able to re-enter."

He and other workers said that several people had been termi-

nated for violating the policy.

In previous years, a company bus would take them once a week to cash their checks, send money home and shop at Walmart. On Saturday or Sunday, it would take them to the laundromat.

When it introduced its "shelter in place" order, Lipman began to provide staples, including beans, rice, milk and eggs, free of charge. It arranged for mobile check-cashing outlets and money-transfer agents to visit the camps to enable workers to send money home. Small grocers in a van brought tortilla flour, canned tuna and other items to sell.

But the workers said the prices were inflated, \$4.50 for a 4.4-pound bag of tortilla flour compared with \$2.88 at Walmart. And, in addition to buying food, they wanted to go out to buy T-shirts, trousers and underwear. Washing by hand was not getting their filthy clothes clean, they said.

"It's illogical. We wear masks and take the same precautions as everybody else," a farmworker called Juan said.

The workers were no longer allowed to hitch rides to the beach or convince the "busero," the crew's bus driver, to make a pizza run.

"Every human being deserves a little diversion from the grind," said a worker named Antonio, in his first year on the job.

Some workers developed rashes from reweaving garments caked with dirt, moisture and sweat until worker advocates dropped off Vaseline and diaper-rash cream.

Workers filed complaints about the lockdown, and the company in July began allowing organized shopping trips to local grocery stores and some visits to Walmart. The workers said they were taken by bus to Food Lion once a week but to Walmart only once a month, at the whim of their bosses. They were still prohibited from leaving the camp otherwise.

Several workers have quit before the end of their contract, forfeiting wages and an employer-paid flight back to Mexico. One of them, a field worker named Manuel, said he understood it was unlikely he would be asked back next year.

"Our rights are being violated," he said. "I couldn't stand it anymore."



Before the pandemic, migrant workers at Lipman Family Farms were allowed to walk to El Ranchito, a Mexican convenience store in Cheriton, Va.

2020

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Tracking an Outbreak U.S. Fallout

‘BETTER THAN MINIMUM WAGE’

New Overnight Shift Emerges in Pandemic: Holding a Spot in Line

By LAUREN HARD

In a New Jersey suburb, a woman sets up a tent around 8 p.m. outside a state Motor Vehicle Commission office. She will spend the night there, accompanied by her 4-year-old son, until just before the office opens at 8 a.m. The woman, Sumbal Nadeem, doesn't need a driver's license or anything else from the agency.

But she does need money. She is being paid \$150 to hold a place in line by a motorist who needs a car registration.

The pandemic has spawned a new class of worker in New Jersey. They are the line holders or line sitters who, for a fee, will wait for hours, sometimes all night, outside a branch of the Motor Vehicle Commission — which was closed for four months — until whoever hired them comes to take that place right before the office opens.

"I've been working every day, 12 hours a day," said Ms. Nadeem, 23, who graduated last December

‘I sit there with my mask on and watch TV on my phone.’

from a community college. She is hoping to become a medical assistant, but has yet to find a job. "I barely get to sleep."

The Motor Vehicle Commission has been overwhelmed by demand since it reopened in early July, after having shut down in March during the state's coronavirus lockdown.

Even after making some services available online and pushing back the expiration dates for certain documents, the agency's 39 locations — where paperwork is processed — have been inundated by customers. Lines stretch for blocks in the wee hours of the morning.

Because of capacity limits to protect public health, offices often start turning people away by mid- or late morning. The agency itself has been hit by the virus, with some offices forced to close for two weeks after employees tested positive.

Gov. Philip D. Murphy has acknowledged the aggravation many motorists have experienced, especially as temperatures drop. "Folks are frustrated by long lines, and so am I," the gover-

nor recently told reporters. "We want to see those lines end as much as everyone."

While these struggles have been maddening to many, for others they have created an opportunity to make money at time when New Jersey has only added back about half of the 800,000 jobs it lost in March and April.

Websites like Craigslist and Facebook Marketplace are filled with people offering to stand in line, charging fees ranging from \$50 to \$600.

Anthony Perez, 37, who lives in Hackensack, was laid off from his job as a designer for a Connecticut firm after the pandemic hit. He is still trying to qualify for unemployment benefits after being initially denied.

Now he is using the \$80 to \$200 he earns waiting in line overnight outside motor vehicle agency offices to help pay some of his bills.

"I'm just trying to feed my family right now," Mr. Perez said. "I lost my job. What am I supposed to do? Eat or starve to death? Or get evicted?"

Motor Vehicle Commission offices are not always known for their efficiency even when times are normal. And New Jersey is not the only state where the outbreak has created an enormous backlog that agencies are having a hard time wading through. Long waits have been reported in Ohio and Nevada, and motor vehicle agencies in 39 states have reopened only to people who make appointments.

In New Jersey, the chief administrator of the Motor Vehicle Commission, Sue Fulton, said the agency was trying to improve the situation by setting up a ticketing system for walk-in customers and allowing more transactions, like certain driver's license renewals, to be done online.

The agency is actually processing more transactions every week than it was during the same period last year, Ms. Fulton said, as it tries to play catch-up. The wait time for some services, like vehicle inspections, is down to pre-pandemic levels.

As for the lines, Ms. Fulton said, "We have to keep working at it until we get that fixed."

Not everyone who has been paid to wait in line is out of work, but they say the extra money has come in handy.

Jeff Mauro, a high school teacher in Red Bank, had the idea to charge people after the odyssey he endured trying to get his



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JENNIFER S. ALTMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

People waiting outside the Motor Vehicle Commission office in Wallington, N.J. The department has been overwhelmed by demand since it reopened in July, leading people to pay anywhere between \$50 to \$600 to have others wait in line for them. Sumbal Nadeem, bottom, said she was paid \$150 to hold a place in line for a motorist who needed a car registration.



daughter's car registered shortly after motor vehicle offices reopened.

First, he showed up at 7 a.m. at the Hazlet office and, seeing the line, realized he would never make it inside. The next day, he

showed up at 5 a.m. and was given ticket No. 225 of the 250 that were handed out. He didn't finish the process until 5 p.m.

"While I was in line I was thinking to myself, 'Somebody would probably pay you to get here early

and get them a spot so they don't have to waste their day,'" Mr. Mauro said.

So, he advertised on various websites and spent part of the summer as a line holder, earning over \$2,500, which he used to boost his income. He said the experience was a lot more tolerable than he had imagined.

"It almost feels like we're all in this together," he said. "If you want to get up and take a walk or go to your car real quick, nobody's jumping in your spot. People are staying their six feet apart. They're very respectful of everyone around them."

Outside some offices, line savers are not the only ones earning cash. Sean Boles, who lives in Washington Township and had been furloughed from his trucking driving job for four months before being recalled, made over \$2,400 waiting in lines at the Wallington office, where he noticed people selling food.

"People bring McDonald's dollar breakfast sandwiches, and they're bringing them by the shopping bag," he said. "They're selling them for like \$3 on line, \$4."

Not surprisingly perhaps, line holders say not everyone is happy to discover that some people are paying others to avoid the big lines.

"They have to understand that there are people who are working 12 hours and they cannot come like us and wait in line," Ms. Nadeem said.

Those who have paid others to wait say the price is worth it. Alex Tholl, who lives in Morristown and owns a design firm, paid a line holder \$150 to take his place in line to register his new car.

He had driven past an agency office a few times, he said, and "saw how tremendously awful it was."

"I can't be waiting in line for four hours," Mr. Tholl added. "I hate to sound shrewd, but my time, you know — four hours of my time is worth more than standing in line."

Anthony Salgado Jr., a high school graduate from Succasunna, had been trying to join the state's carpenters' union, but the outbreak made it difficult to take the necessary classes. So, Mr. Salgado decided to cover some of his expenses by advertising himself as a line holder on Craigslist. He charges as much as \$200 to hold a spot.

"I sit there with my mask on and watch TV on my phone for like five hours," he said.

So far, he has made over \$2,000. "It pays a lot better than minimum wage," he said.

WHITE HOUSE VS. SCIENTISTS

As Election Nears, Trump Calls Fauci a Disaster and Shrugs at a Spike in Infections

From Page A1

ships should be allowed to sail.

"The administration's coronavirus strategy is fundamentally rooted in the bedrock objective of saving lives and helping our country safely open and stay open," Michael Bars, a White House spokesman, said. "As always, coronavirus-related matters receive appropriate attention, consultation, and input from Task Force experts."

But the composition of the task force is changing.

Mr. Trump's pandemic adviser, Dr. Scott W. Atlas, a neuroradiologist with no experience in infectious disease or epidemiology, is a rising power within the White House, embracing a response that calls for allowing the coronavirus to spread naturally while protecting only the most vulnerable. Over the weekend, Twitter removed a post in which Dr. Atlas questioned the efficacy of mask wearing, decreeing it misinformation.

Such ideas have led to internal clashes — and sometimes turf wars — pitting Dr. Atlas against Dr. Fauci and Dr. Deborah L. Birx, the coronavirus response coordinator.

With polls showing the president trailing his Democratic opponent, Joseph R. Biden Jr., the campaign call was supposed to emphasize a big, positive message, especially on the economy, with reporters listening in and most of the campaign staff participating. The call began with Mr. Trump's campaign manager, Bill Stepien, talking about the Republican ground game and other factors that he said supported Mr. Trump's path to victory.

Then Mr. Trump erupted.

In addition to proclaiming Dr. Fauci an "idiot," Mr. Trump also deemed him a "nice" guy — albeit one who, in Mr. Trump's view, has stuck around too long.

Noah Weiland and Jim Tankersley contributed reporting.

"He's been here for 500 years," the president said, adding: "Every time he goes on television, there's always a bomb, but there's a bigger bomb if you fire him. This guy's a disaster."

And at a campaign rally in Prescott, Ariz., on Monday, Mr. Trump invoked Dr. Fauci as a way of ridiculing Mr. Biden's coronavirus plan.

"Biden wants to lock it down. He wants to listen to Dr. Fauci," the president said, referring to coronavirus-related restrictions on the economy. (Dr. Fauci, addressing a group of pathologists last week, said no one wants to "shut down the country again.")

The Biden campaign, which has been emphasizing a promise to listen to science over politics, responded with relish: "Mr. President, you're right about one thing: The American people are tired. They're tired of your lies about this virus."

Last week, Dr. Fauci, a career government scientist who has advised six presidents, accused the president's campaign — though not Mr. Trump himself — of quoting him "completely out of context" and without his permission in a campaign ad. Then, in an interview with the CBS program "60 Minutes" that aired Sunday, Dr. Fauci said he was not surprised that the president had contracted the coronavirus, given the lack of White House precautions.

"Dr. Tony Fauci says we don't allow him to do television, and yet I saw him last night on @60Minutes, and he seems to get more airtime than anybody since the late, great, Bob Hope," the president said on Twitter.

Then the president, harking back to Dr. Fauci's pitch during Opening Day of baseball season here, added a postscript: "P.S. Tony should stop wearing the Washington Nationals' Mask for two reasons. Number one, it is not up to the high standards that he should be exposing. Number two, it keeps reminding me that Tony threw out perhaps the worst first

pitch in the history of Baseball!"

Mr. Trump's eruption generated a backlash. Senator Lamar Alexander, Republican of Tennessee and the chairman of the Senate Health Committee, called Dr. Fauci "one of our country's most distinguished public servants."

"If more Americans paid attention to his advice," Mr. Alexander wrote on Twitter, "we'd have fewer cases of COVID-19, & it would be safer to go back to school & back to work & out to eat."

Neither Dr. Fauci nor officials at the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, which he heads, responded to a request for comment. But in an interview with The Times last week, before Mr. Trump's latest comments, Dr. Fauci said he was concerned about the coming months, and resisted the idea that the nation was in a "second wave" because "we have never completely gotten out of the first wave."

"I have said many times, and I'll say it again," he said, "that is not a good position to be in as you enter the cooler months of the fall and

the colder months of the winter."

Since Dr. Fauci emerged as a villain of the political right, he has been assigned a federal security detail. He and his wife, Christine Grady, a bioethicist at the National Institutes of Health, have been threatened by email, phone

Veering off track during a campaign call that was meant to have a positive theme.



JEFF CHIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The nation has "never completely gotten out of the first wave," Dr. Anthony S. Fauci said last week.

outbreaks, and on television, where he has often appeared to comment on the pandemic, has been severely restricted. Over the summer, Mr. Trump's press office tried to undermine him with an anonymously attributed list of what it said were his misjudgments in the early days of the coronavirus, which they sent to news media organizations.

In a half-hour tête-à-tête with Mark Meadows, the White House chief of staff, in July, Dr. Fauci confronted him about the move, and about attempts to ignore or block his broadcast media appearances.

During a task force meeting in late September, Dr. Fauci and Dr. Birx confronted Dr. Atlas over a claim he made to the group to support his call for reopening schools and businesses: that parts of the country — including New York — were nearing 40 to 50 percent immunity, which he said would be enough to slow the spread of the virus.

Scientists and public health experts say that would not be enough to achieve widespread immunity.

The two demanded he show evidence for the argument, according to two senior administration officials who witnessed the exchange, which was reported earlier by The Washington Post.

After Dr. Atlas arrived at the White House over the summer and gained virtually unfettered access to Mr. Trump, Dr. Birx stopped briefing the president on the pandemic.

Dr. Fauci has also clashed privately with Dr. Atlas over the science behind wearing face masks. Dr. Atlas has told task force members that mask mandates in states such as Hawaii are proof of their futility in preventing infections.

"The role of public policy here is to get rid of the fear, as opposed to what public health officials who are the face of this continue to do, which is instill fear," Dr. Atlas said in an interview.

"Young people have very low risk of this," he said. "In fact, for people under 70, the case mortality of this is less than 0.5 percent."

Mr. Trump has often questioned Dr. Fauci's recommendations, and frequently dismisses basic health advice, including that people wear masks. At a rally on Sunday and again on Monday, Mr. Trump mocked Mr. Biden for listening to scientists on how to combat the virus. "If I listened totally to the scientists, we would right now have a country that would be in a massive depression," Mr. Trump said Sunday.

Mr. Trump has also bristled at Dr. Fauci's superior approval ratings. A poll released late last month by the nonpartisan Kaiser Family Foundation found that 68 percent of Americans trusted Dr. Fauci either a great deal or a fair amount to provide reliable information about the virus, while only 40 percent trusted Mr. Trump.

In the "60 Minutes" interview, Dr. Fauci cited the failure of the president's staff to take basic precautions at White House events, including the announcement of Judge Amy Coney Barrett's nomination to the Supreme Court.

NEW JERSEY

Cases Double in a Month Amid ‘Widespread’ Community Transmission

By TRACEY TULLY and MICHAEL GOLD

Coronavirus cases in New Jersey, an early epicenter of the pandemic, are on the rise again, doubling over the last month to an average of more than 900 new positive tests a day, a worrisome reversal of fortune for a state that had driven transmission rates to some of the nation's lowest levels. After an outbreak several weeks ago in a heavily Orthodox Jewish town near the Jersey Shore, cases are now rising in counties across the state, driven, officials say, by indoor gatherings. The state's health commissioner has said there are signs of “widespread community spread” for the first time since New Jersey successfully slowed the spread of a virus that has claimed the lives of more than 16,000 residents. A small, densely packed state, New Jersey has the highest virus fatality rate in the country.

Gov. Philip D. Murphy said Monday that residents should refrain from all but necessary out-of-state travel. “The numbers are up,” Mr. Murphy said. “They’re up — up and down the state.”

Under a quarantine policy adopted by New Jersey, New York and Connecticut, New Jersey now exceeds the threshold — an average of 10 cases for every 100,000 residents for seven days — used to determine which states should be included in the travel advisory. Thirty-eight other states are on the list.

The uptick comes as other parts of the Northeast and states across the country are confronting similar surges of infections and hospitalizations as the pandemic stretches into its eighth month, with a death toll that now exceeds 219,000, according to a New York Times database.

Mr. Murphy, who has been conservative in allowing the state to reopen, said he would consider

Amanda Rosa contributed reporting.



BRYAN ANSELM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Citing a surge, Gov. Philip D. Murphy said Monday that New Jersey residents should refrain from all but necessary out-of-state travel.

targeted shutdowns to curb the spread, as Connecticut and New York have done, but he suggested that would not solve the problem. The new cases, he said, do not appear linked to reopened schools or businesses, and are instead believed to be connected with private indoor gatherings that are harder to regulate. Mr. Murphy and the state's health commissioner, Judith M. Persichilli, warned that cases could continue to climb as the weather cooled and people shifted their activities indoors, where the risk of spread was higher. “It is understandable that residents want life to go back to nor-

mal,” Ms. Persichilli said. “But as we approach a holiday season, now is the time to double down on social distancing, wearing face coverings and good hand hygiene.” In New York, the rate of positive virus tests was 1.21 percent on Monday, compared with 3.36 percent in New Jersey. Over the last seven days, Connecticut has seen an average of more than 375 cases per day, according to data collected by The Times, and a seven-day average positive test rate of 1.9 percent. In response to higher rates of infection in parts of New York, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo ordered

shutdowns in certain neighborhoods in New York City and in parts of Rockland and Orange Counties. Asked on Monday if New York intended to bar travelers from New Jersey, Mr. Cuomo said that was unlikely. “You can’t do border patrol with New Jersey and Connecticut,” Mr. Cuomo said. Even though many businesses are still asking employees to work from home, plenty of people still travel every day among the three states. In Connecticut, 11 municipalities have been labeled “red” — meaning they had a two-week

rolling average of 15 positive cases of coronavirus per 100,000 people. Towns and cities in the red zones must cancel public events and postpone indoor activities and outdoor activities where social distancing or mask wearing is not possible. “The state-by-state quarantine is complicated,” said Connecticut's governor, Ned Lamont, noting the town-by-town differences within each state. Weeks ago, New Jersey officials dispatched extra contact tracers to Ocean County on the Jersey Shore and set up a testing site at a baseball stadium to confront a large outbreak that was thought

CRITICIZING LOCKDOWNS

‘Herd Immunity’ Proposal Draws Ire From Scientists

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI and SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

As the coronavirus pandemic erupted this spring, two Stanford University professors — Dr. Jay Bhattacharya and Dr. Scott W. Atlas — bonded over a shared concern that lockdowns were creating economic and societal devastation.

Now Dr. Atlas is President Trump's science adviser, a powerful force inside the White House. And Dr. Bhattacharya is one of three authors of the so-called Great Barrington Declaration, a scientific treatise that calls for allowing the coronavirus to spread naturally in order to achieve herd immunity — the point at which enough people have been infected to stall transmission of the pathogen in the community.

While Dr. Atlas and administration officials have denied advocating this approach, they have praised the ideas in the declaration. The message is aligned with Mr. Trump's vocal opposition on the campaign trail to lockdowns, even as the country grapples with renewed surges of the virus.

The central proposition, supported by some 40,000 signatories, is that to contain the coronavirus, people “who are not vulnerable should immediately be allowed to resume life as normal” while those at high risk are protected from infection.

Younger Americans should return to workplaces, schools, shops and restaurants, while older Americans would remain cloistered from the virus as it spreads, receiving such services as grocery deliveries and medical care.

Eventually so many younger Americans will have been exposed, and presumably will have developed some immunity, that the virus will not be able to maintain its hold on the communities, the declaration contends.

But it does not offer details on how the strategy would work in practice. Dr. Anthony Fauci, the government's top infectious disease expert, has dismissed the declaration as unscientific, dangerous and “total nonsense.” Others have called it unethical, particularly for multigenerational families and communities of color.

Alarmed and angry, 80 experts on Wednesday published a manifesto of their own, the John Snow Memorandum (named after a legendary epidemiologist), saying that the declaration's approach would endanger Americans who

have underlying conditions that put them at high risk from severe Covid-19 — at least one-third of U.S. citizens, by most estimates — and result in perhaps a half-million deaths. “I think it's wrong, I think it's unsafe, I think it invites people to act in ways that have the potential to do an enormous amount of harm,” said Dr. Rochelle Walensky, an infectious disease expert at Harvard University and one of the signatories to the Snow memo. “You don't roll out disease — you roll out vaccination.”

The declaration grew out of a gathering hosted in Great Barrington, Mass., by the American Institute for Economic Research, a think tank dedicated to free-market principles that partners with the Charles Koch Institute, founded by the billionaire industrialist to provide support to libertarian-leaning causes and organizations.

On Oct. 5, the day after the declaration was made public, the three authors — Dr. Bhattacharya, Sunetra Gupta of Oxford University and Martin Kull-dorff of Harvard — arrived in Washington at the invitation of Dr. Atlas to present their plan to a small but powerful audience: the health and human services secretary, Alex M. Azar II.

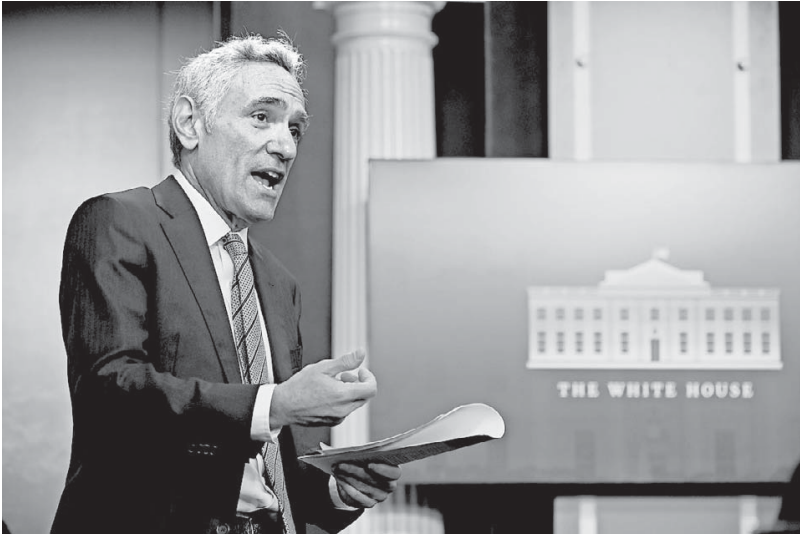
Over the course of an hourlong meeting in a wood-paneled, sixth-floor suite atop the health department's headquarters, the researchers walked the secretary and Dr. Atlas through their thinking.

Dr. Azar later tweeted: “We heard strong reinforcement of the Trump Administration's strategy of aggressively protecting the vulnerable while opening schools and the workplace.”

Battered by lost jobs, pandemic fatigue and isolation, and worried for their children, there is little doubt that Americans loathe lockdowns, although many still see them as necessary to control the virus.

Among scientists, too, there is near-universal agreement that lockdowns are harmful. Even Dr. Fauci has suggested that another national lockdown must be instituted only as a last resort.

But mostly, scientific disagreement centers on whether lockdowns are a necessary move when other strategies to contain the virus have not even been put in place, or have failed.



ERIN SCOTT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“This has been wrongly framed as a debate between lockdown and no lockdown,” said Dr. Deepthi Gurdasani, a clinical epidemiologist at Queen Mary University of London. Dr. David Nabarro, a special envoy to the World Health Organization, has urged governments not to resort to lockdowns as the primary method to control the virus. Masks, social distancing, fewer crowds, testing and tracing —

Trump officials praise ideas that experts warn are dangerous.

these are the ways to control the virus in the long run, he said in an interview. But the lockdowns in the spring were necessary, he added, as emergency measures to give countries time to put in place strategies to control the virus. “There is a middle way,” Dr. Nabarro added, between strict lockdowns and letting the virus freely infect people. “If only we had a few more world leaders who would understand this, we wouldn't have this debate going on.” But Dr. Bhattacharya and his supporters go further. They say that governments should never have imposed lockdowns at all, and never should have tried to institute coronavirus testing and contact tracing. The manifesto's central tenet is that young people should be free to resume normal life — to re-enter the work force, attend college,

dine in restaurants. They would become infected, hopefully without much illness, and gain immunity. Eventually the virus would not be able to find new victims and would fade away. “People who are more at risk may participate if they wish, while society as a whole enjoys the protection conferred upon the vulnerable by those who have built up herd immunity,” the declaration said. The strategy includes keeping older people cloistered, with regular testing to detect possible outbreaks in nursing homes, and with groceries and other necessities delivered to anyone over 60 sheltering at home. Alternately, older people might move to other facilities for isolation or quarantine. There would be no widespread surveillance for the coronavirus. People would be given information about testing, with an emphasis on those who have symptoms — but when and how to get tested, and whether to isolate if infected, would be left up to individuals. “Testing and isolating indiscriminately causes too much collateral damage for it to be useful,” Dr. Bhattacharya said. But some experts said the strategy was highly impractical, given the difficulty in determining who is truly susceptible. The risk of death from Covid-19 rises sharply with age, but about 37 percent of adults in America also are at significant risk because of obesity, diabetes or other underlying conditions. The most recent statistics indicate that 20 percent of deaths from Covid-19 occur in people under age 65. And about a third of

people who have recovered from the disease, including the young, still struggle with symptoms weeks later (a phenomenon the Barrington authors contest). “It's amazingly irresponsible” not to take these risks into account, Dr. Nabarro said. The declaration's strategy is both unethical and fails to account for human behavior, said Ruth Faden, a bioethicist at Johns Hopkins University. Many high-risk groups — people who live in multigenerational families or in crowded living situations, or who have diabetes and obesity — are disproportionately found in poor communities, she said. The declaration's strategy would require them to move away from their families or to risk having younger family members bring the virus home. “Are we going to compel these people to leave? And if we're not going to compel them to leave, then how's this supposed to go?” she said. “Then you are going to see the deaths that you say we're not going to see.” Reopening schools when community levels of the virus are high similarly rests on a misguided assumption that parents and teachers would agree to the strategy, she added. Scientists who have signed the declaration did not offer many details for putting its ideas in place. “I don't know exactly how it would work,” said Gabriela Gomes, a mathematical modeler at the University of Strathclyde in Britain and one of 42 co-signers. Another supporter, Paul McK-eigue, a genetic epidemiologist at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland, said, “Specific control

A surge linked not to reopenings, but to indoor gatherings likely to increase.

to have been linked to religious gatherings in Lakewood, N.J. Cases there remain stubbornly high, but the virus is also now spreading throughout the state. Mr. Murphy called the trend “sobering”: Five of the state's 21 counties each reported more than 100 new cases on Monday. The seven-day average of new cases has not been this high since late May, and the number of people hospitalized with Covid-19 also is increasing slightly. On Sunday, the state reported 1,282 new cases of the virus. On Monday, there were 1,192, including more than 100 each in Ocean, Essex, Union, Middlesex and Bergen Counties. Still, Mr. Murphy continues to face pressure to reopen the state more fully. He had suggested last week that he was preparing to relax the limits on indoor dining beyond the current 25 percent occupancy limits, offering a lifeline to restaurateurs struggling to stay afloat. Most schools in the state are offering only partial in-person instruction, and classes in many districts remain entirely online. But last week, he said schools could move ahead with full-contact indoor winter sports like wrestling and basketball. On Monday, he acknowledged the risk of sending “mixed messages” about reopening at a time when virus cases were on the rise. “Things are on the table,” he said, referring to indoor dining, “but we're looking at community spread.” “I don't want to take a step and have to lurch backward,” he added.

Dr. Scott Atlas, left, the White House science adviser, and Dr. Jay Bhattacharya have been vocal critics of the lockdowns that some experts see as vital.



ROD SEARCEY/MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL, VIA AP

Dr. Scott Atlas, left, the White House science adviser, and Dr. Jay Bhattacharya have been vocal critics of the lockdowns that some experts see as vital.

measures for preventing coronavirus transmission are not my area of expertise.” The lack of a clear plan has turned away even some would-be supporters. Dr. Stefan Baral, an epidemiologist at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, attended part of the Great Barrington, Mass., meeting and said he was sympathetic to the effort. But Dr. Baral, a Swedish citizen who supports that country's approach, said he did not sign the declaration because it did not lay out a plan for workplace or housing accommodations for people at risk. Sweden adopted an unrestricted approach, offering guidelines to its citizens but leaving compliance up to them. The country is often cited as the model for controlling the virus without restrictions, but has among the highest death rates in the world, particularly among the elderly. It has also suffered economic losses comparable to those of other Nordic countries. It's possible to avoid even those risks without lockdowns if governments impose some reasonable restrictions like physical distancing and universal masks and install test and trace strategies, Dr. Nabarro said. “I will contest anybody who says it is undoable,” he added. “It's doable without collateral damage if you bring together all the local communities.” The town of Great Barrington, Mass., home to the American Institute for Economic Research, recently distanced itself from the declaration, saying the strategy it proposed could “cost millions of lives.” “Anyone who might avoid Great Barrington, due to confusion over the Declaration, is invited to visit and see how COVID-safe works in a small New England town,” the town's leaders wrote. “Please wear a mask.”

IN HER WORDS

In Center of Classroom, At the Heart of a Crisis

By EMMA GOLDBERG

More than 150 years ago, Massachusetts lawmakers came up with a radical idea: All young people should be educated. The commonwealth passed the country's first law requiring that children go to school, then was left wondering where to find the teachers it needed to educate all those children.

A school committee in Littleton, Mass., came up with a simple solution. “God seems to have made woman peculiarly suited to guide and develop the infant mind,” the committee wrote, in 1849. Why pay men \$20 a month when “a female could do the work more successfully at one third of the price.”

Not only did women appear uniquely fitted to the work of teaching; they also didn't have competing professional opportunities that would drive wages up — or so the logic went. “The argument was, ‘Look,

‘It seems very poor policy to pay a man 20 or 22 dollars a month for teaching children the ABC’s when a female could do the work more successfully at one third of the price.’

A school committee in Littleton, Mass., debating how to source teachers for its classrooms in 1849

women will learn to be better mothers by practicing on other people's children,” said Richard Ingersoll, a sociologist at University of Pennsylvania. “Proponents made the case it was a win-win.”

As other states followed Massachusetts's lead, and public schools opened across the country, they filled with female teachers. By the late 1880s, women made up 63 percent of the country's teachers. The profession has remained female dominated ever since.

In 2017, women comprised more than three-quarters of public-school teachers, in a profession that remains stubbornly underpaid and undervalued.

In 2018, the starting salary for a public-school teacher averaged \$38,000. In more than 1,000 districts, even the highest paid public-school teachers with advanced degrees and decades of experience earn less

than \$50,000. A 2010 report from McKinsey looked at the state of teaching in America compared with other developed countries, like Singapore and Finland, and concluded that their schools attract more teaching talent in part because they offer more competitive pay with bonuses tied to performance.

On the Global Teacher Status Index, a survey that examines respect for teachers among the general public in 35 countries, America fell in the middle of the pack — ranking at No. 16, far behind China, Malaysia and Taiwan.

Working at a private school instead of public does not improve pay, either. In fact, private schoolteachers often earn less, though their working conditions are often better. What does substantially increase a teacher's salary is working in a high school classroom instead of elementary or preschool. Male teachers are also far more likely to teach older students.

Now the coronavirus has placed those same underpaid teachers at the heart of a national crisis as the U.S. looks to teachers not only for children's education and well-being but also as essential child care as parents try to get back to work.

“Our public education system is a massive hidden child care subsidy,” said Jon Shelton, a historian of the teaching work force at the University of Wisconsin.

It's no wonder teachers have faced widespread pressure from parents, community leaders and government officials to return to their classrooms for the new academic year. Districts across the country have been left to chart their own course, pitting the risks of returning to in-person learning against the disadvantages of remaining virtual. This month New York City became the first big city in the country to reopen its schools, with a hybrid of in-person and remote learning, after weeks of delays and uncertainty. On Sunday, Mayor Bill de Blasio announced he would close schools in nine ZIP codes that have seen a rise in coronavirus positivity rates.

Here are three stories from teachers across the U.S. about the complex roles they have played in their students' lives since the virus first kicked up and how they're managing school now.



A classroom at Whittier Primary School in Hampton, Va., circa 1899.

THE COMMUNITY WORKER

Jardy Santana, 34, teaches English at Mott Haven Academy Charter School, a school predominantly serving families involved in the child welfare system in the Bronx, which is run in partnership with the New York Foundling. She has been teaching for 12 years, including 10 at Mott Haven, and this year has been her hardest.

For her, the onset of remote learning last spring brought a weighty realization: Each student has very different needs in the virtual classroom. She began checking in individually with her fourth-grade pupils. Some needed help accessing food. Some needed a shoulder to cry on (virtually) when their family members were sick. Some needed individualized help with their reading.

Ms. Santana joined the school's food program, distributing meals to families so she could see her pupils and offer them air hugs at a distance. She kept an eye out for those who missed class, and texted them to say they could rely on her for emotional support.

“I said, ‘If you're feeling sick, if a family member is sick, I'm here. You don't just have to call me to talk about academics, you can share how you're feeling.’”

One of Ms. Santana's students didn't have internet access at home and relied on New York's public Wi-Fi booths. It was clear the student was worried about her classroom performance suffering, Ms. Santana explained, so they worked out an arrangement: When getting internet was tough, the student could call Ms. Santana and dictate writing exercises to her over the phone. These phone calls tightened their bond emotionally, too. They discovered they had the same birthday, so they celebrated remotely.

Ms. Santana was intent on countering the gloom around them — especially the incessant noise of sirens — by bringing levity into the virtual classroom. One afternoon they had a dance party instead of a lesson. “It was extremely hard on the kids to not see each other, not have their friends, not have their teachers around,” she said.

Ms. Santana was relieved to see her students' moods lighten on spirit days. She celebrated “Crazy Hair Day” with them on Zoom by designing a makeshift headband, and “Crazy Accessories Day” by digging out an old pair of glasses from her dresser. One morning, they were prompted to send a photo of something in their home that was providing them with emotional support. Ms. Santana sent a picture with her Kitchen-Aid, because baking Dominican cakes with her children has brought her joy on particularly high-stress days.

Over the summer, Mott Haven Academy wrestled with whether to stay virtual or go to a hybrid model in the fall, like so many New York City schools. But its surrounding neighborhood in the Bronx



‘You don’t just have to talk about academics, you can share how you’re feeling.’

JARDY SANTANA, in a selfie at Mott Haven Academy Charter School in the Bronx

was one of the hardest hit by the pandemic: 2,804 Covid-19 cases and 253 deaths per 100,000 people. The school decided to remain virtual until the neighborhood's daily infection rate went below the 3 percent threshold identified by the city as critical for school reopening.

When classes commenced this fall, Ms. Santana woke up at 5:30 in the morning with nervous energy. Her son, a third grader at Mott Haven Academy, was equally excited for the first day of school, even though his reunion with friends would be limited to video. He proudly showed off his apartment work space, with his mom in the background greeting her own class.

More than a decade into her career, Ms. Santana holds tight to the passion that drew her to the classroom. She decided she wanted to be a teacher in first grade. She had immigrated from the Dominican Republic to the U.S. when she was six, and neither of her parents spoke English. They bought her a chalkboard, and when she came home from school each day, she taught them the same lessons that she had received from her endlessly patient first-grade teacher, Mrs. Iglesias.

Helping her parents puzzle through foreign words felt challenging — but not compared with her long days during the pandemic, paired with long evenings of child care. “I've never worked this hard and put in this many hours,” she said.

But as the new semester begins, she is learning to set boundaries and focus on her own family as well. “Sometimes I have to say, you did your job as a teacher, now you've got your mom hat on,” she said. “This is Ms. Santana time, this is Jardy time.”

THE UNION ACTIVIST

Sarah Pamperin, 33, is a bilingual teacher in Green Bay, Wis., working with Spanish-speaking sixth-grade students at a Green Bay area public school. For her, the early weeks of the pandemic were a haze of nonstop work, all of which felt insufficient to meet her students' needs. She worked with student services to deliver food, books and jump ropes to their porches. She texted and called them to see how their families were doing.

Her school is near a meatpacking plant where many of the parents of her students work. In April, it was the site of a major Covid-19 outbreak, resulting in numerous parents being hospitalized. One former student had a parent who died.

Hoping to help her students process the fast-moving news, she assigned them an essay to write on the pandemic, but her students found it too draining to discuss. The personal stress they were under made it hard for them to focus on academic progress at all.

“There was a lot of emotional turmoil and we couldn't do a whole lot of curricular teaching,” she said. “Those were some of the darkest weeks of my life.” Instead of

spending her time focused on lesson plans, she found herself consumed by her students' emotional well-being — contacting those who had to temporarily stay with other relatives, texting with children whose parents were hospitalized.

Ms. Pamperin is an active union member, but she's less focused on teachers' rights and more focused on using her union position to promote the needs of bilingual and non-English speaking parents in her district, pushing for widespread use of a phone app that allows teachers to communicate with families in their native language. She has fought to improve her school's teachings on racial injustice.

This summer, when her district decided that schools would continue remote rather than in-person learning in the fall, she “obsessively” tracked which students didn't have internet access. Through her union, she also asked the district to create learning pods — small clusters of students who could study together daily — but the suggestion was rejected. Some feared this would make the district liable for coronavirus outbreaks.

CHAMPION FOR THE DISABLED

When Caitlin Hernandez, 30, was in graduate school, she was asked the same question over and over again: Can someone who is blind really be a teacher? The doubt she heard made her all the more certain she did want to go into teaching, so that her students — many of whom have autism, dyslexia, A.D.H.D. and physical disabilities — would have a role model who really knew what they were experiencing. She wanted them to learn from her success, not to question their own aspirations.

Ms. Hernandez typically starts out every school year introducing herself as someone who is totally blind and has been her whole life, then reads a book called, “My Three Best Friends and Me, Zulay,” which has a blind protagonist. (This book was not written by a blind author, but Ms. Hernandez is currently writing her own young adult novel about a blind person.)

Then came Covid, and Ms. Hernandez's blindness made the adjustment to virtual learning all the more challenging. She teaches special education to second, third, and fourth grade students, as well as kindergartners, at Rooftop School, an alternative public school in San Francisco. She is accustomed to using hands-on tactics, like counting out objects with her students in math class. These tactile learning techniques are no longer possi-

ble on Zoom.

Before the pandemic, she started her days taking an access-a-ride service to school, arriving just before class started at 7:50. Now she “rolls out of bed” and starts with an 8:30 Zoom session, offering one-on-one reading assistance to one of her students.

In the pre-Covid classroom, Ms. Hernandez had an assistant who kept an eye on the students and ensured they were paying attention. Now that classes are remote, that assistant functions as a “back seat Zoom driver,” helping to monitor the chatbox and unmute students while Ms. Hernandez reads her lesson plan. Ms. Hernandez uses the Zoom app on her phone, which is linked to a Braille display. In the afternoon, she offers 30-minute larger classes, and smaller group reading exercises for just two or three students.

She misses being in person with her students, which helped establish trust. “There's this in-person connection we have of being like, ‘I'm also disabled, so I get that it's hard but we're going to do this together,’” Ms. Hernandez said. “I tell them, ‘I got you, I've been there.’ And that looks very different over Zoom.”

It is not just Ms. Hernandez who is experiencing the difficulties of remote learning. She has heard from her disabled students that they are struggling emo-



FRANCES BENJAMIN JOHNSTON, VIA LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

She has also scrambled to balance caring for her students with tending to her own sons (ages 2 and 4), one of whom has autism. Her husband has a good job repairing medical equipment at a hospital, but during the early weeks of the outbreak she found herself wishing he could stay home to help her with child care.

“I was envious of my husband, to be honest,” she said. “Even though he was working in a scary environment, he at least got to leave the house every day.” She also acknowledged, though, how privileged she was to have steady income, unlike so many.

Ms. Pamperin feels that her personal struggles allow her to connect more deeply with students. She knows what it is like to care for a developmentally disabled child; she also has personal experience living with economic challenges, like more than half of her students.

“It’s helped me to take more of an activist stance for families, instead of just saying, ‘Yeah, that’s a real bummer,’” she said. “I can empathize with what families are going through.”



‘I can empathize with what families are going through.’

SARAH PAMPERIN,
in a selfie in her classroom in Green Bay, Wis.

tionally. They depended on their in-person classes both for structure and community.

“The nature of the pandemic is that everything is so unpredictable, and that’s hard for autistic people because structure is so helpful,” she said. “I hear people say, ‘This must be great for kids with autism because the classroom is overwhelming.’ It’s really not. They’re missing out on being with folks who engage them.”

Most troubling to Ms. Hernandez is the widening gap between her students who get support from their families at home, and those who have to push themselves through virtual learning and even provide child care to their younger siblings, because their parents are struggling too.

“It’s not equitable,” she said. “Some students have support at home and others just don’t.”

Ms. Hernandez has seen her students struggle to focus during virtual classes. Sometimes they wander away from their computers, or forget to mute themselves while calling for a snack. She knows that privately many of them are suffering, especially those with parents who lost jobs. Ms. Hernandez has provided comfort and structure by arranging activities they can do together virtually.

“I asked the kids what books they had at home that they really enjoyed,” she said. “Then I would go download it so we could read together.”



VIA CAITLIN HERNANDEZ

‘I tell them, “I got you, I’ve been there.”’

CAITLIN HERNANDEZ,
a teacher at Rooftop School in San Francisco

NEW YORK

Nearly 3 Weeks Into Classes, Only 18 Positive Test Results In the City’s Public Schools

By DANA RUBINSTEIN
and J. DAVID GOODMAN

For months, as New York City struggled to start part-time, in-person classes, fear grew that its 1,800 public schools would become vectors of coronavirus infection, a citywide archipelago of super-spreader sites.

But nearly three weeks into the in-person school year, early data from the city’s first effort at targeted testing has shown the opposite: a surprisingly small number of positive cases.

Out of 16,348 staff members and students tested randomly by the school system in the first week of its testing regimen, the city has gotten back results for 16,298. There were only 28 positives: 20 staff members and eight students.

And when officials put mobile testing units at schools near Brooklyn and Queens neighborhoods that have had new outbreaks, only four positive cases turned up — out of more than 3,300 tests conducted since the last week of September.

New York City is facing fears of a second wave of the virus brought on by localized spikes in Brooklyn and Queens, which have required new shutdown restrictions that included the closure of more than 120 public schools as a precaution, even though few people in them have tested positive.

But for now, at least, the sprawling system of public schools, the nation’s largest, is an unexpected bright spot as the city tries to recover from a pandemic that has killed more than 20,000 people and severely weakened its economy.

If students can continue to return to class, and parents have more confidence that they can go back to work, that could provide a boost to New York City’s halting recovery.

The absence of early outbreaks, if it holds, suggests that the city’s efforts for its 1.1 million public school students could serve as an influential model for school districts across the nation.

In September, New York became the first big urban district to reopen schools for in-person learning.

Roughly half of the city’s students have opted for hybrid learning, where they are in the building some days, but not others. The approach has enabled the city to keep class sizes small and create more space between desks.

Since then, large school districts across Florida have opened for in-person learning, too. Some wealthier districts in the New York suburbs declined to take this step, worried that it was too risky and logistically challenging.

The city’s success so far could put much more pressure on other districts that have opted for only remote instruction to start considering plans to bring their children back as well.

“That data is encouraging,” said Paula White, executive director of Educators for Excellence, a teachers group. “It reinforces what we have heard about schools not being super spreaders.”

So far, it is also good news for Mayor Bill de Blasio, who has staked much of his second-term legacy on reopening schools for in-person learning during the pandemic.

While public health experts said the data was encouraging, they also cautioned that it was still early.

In general, maintaining low levels of infection at schools would depend on how well New York City does in holding off a broader spread in the population.

Also, some experts have called for much more frequent random testing in all schools — something that city officials are considering — in order to increase the odds of discovering an outbreak early.

So far, most coronavirus testing for school workers has taken place at city-run sites outside the purview of the education department.

Out of 37,000 tests of staff members at city sites, 180 were positive, a city official said.

According to separate data reported to the state by local school districts, 198 public school students in New York City have tested positive since Sept. 8. (Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo in early September ordered those conducting coronavirus tests to collect school information on children, but so far compliance has been spotty, state officials said.)

The city’s new schools testing regimen, which began Oct. 9, calls for 10 to 20 percent of the school population to be tested once a month, depending on the size of the school. The city is applying this testing to its 1,600 traditional public schools; the city’s 260 charter schools are not included.

Some researchers have questioned the efficacy of that approach, saying it could miss a large outbreak.

“It’s great that New York City is doing some level of random testing,” said Dr. Ashish Jha, dean of the Brown University School of Public Health. “It’s not at the level that would be ideal.”

One study recommended testing half the students twice a month.

Michael Mulgrew, president of the teachers union, said the city is looking to increase testing to as much as three times a month citywide. Such frequency, he said, would be “much more valuable”

in terms of keeping the virus in check.

A spokeswoman for the city’s education department cast the discussions to increase testing as merely exploratory.

A positive test of a student or teacher causes the city to spring into action. Under the rules, one case can cause the closure of a classroom. Two or more cases in separate parts of the same school can prompt a temporary schoolwide closure. At least 25 schools have temporarily closed since classes began. But only three were closed as of Friday.

Mr. Cuomo also ordered an increase in testing in schools around hot spots — from once a month to once a week. And on Thursday, he announced that the state would send 200,000 rapid antigen tests to New York City to help in the effort.

“This is a tremendously tricky balancing act,” Dr. Jay Varma, senior adviser for health to Mr. de Blasio, said in an interview. “We really chose the most conservative approach possible.”

The city’s school testing program depends on parents consenting to having their children tested. If officials find that a given school does not have enough approved students to collect an adequate sample, students who are randomly selected for testing but whose parents refuse consent could be forced to study remotely.

So far, only about 72,000 parents have returned consent forms, the school’s chancellor, Richard A. Carranza, said at a City Council hearing on Friday. That is out of about 500,000 children who are attending in-person classes at least one day a week.

As a result, more teachers and staff are represented in the early test results, even though they make up a far smaller portion of any school’s population.

“If the 20 percent is truly random it should be more students,” said Mark Cannizzaro, president of the principal’s union, the Council of School Supervisors and Administrators.

City officials expect more students to soon consent to the testing. But the overrepresentation of adults in school-based testing was not necessarily an issue, Dr. Varma said.

“One of the lessons that has come out of analyses in the U.K., Germany and Australia,” he said, “is that adults are at higher risk of potentially introducing infection into a school.”

The emerging scientific consensus is that younger children do not spread the virus as easily as older children and adults.

The closure of some classrooms and schools was expected, a built-in component of the city’s exceedingly cautious approach to positive cases, officials said.

But it has led to confusion and a feeling among some parents of being in the dark about what is happening inside their children’s schools.

In Brooklyn, Public School 116, an elementary school, closed for three days after three teachers and a student tested positive.

“They did not say why, they just said that it was contained and that the investigation was closed,” said Marlene Rossi, president of the P.T.A. at the school.

Parents were not informed of the closure by email until late the night before, said Assemblywoman Maritza Davila, who represents the area. “Some of them do not even have internet,” she added.

City officials said contact tracing and case investigations had determined that the three teacher cases in P.S. 116 were connected, and that the one student had been learning remotely and therefore became infected outside of the school. That allowed them to isolate the infected staff members, quarantine their contacts and reopen the school.

The process is meant to be rapid, head off outbreaks and, if possible, avoid lengthy closures. While more than two dozen schools have been closed because of positive tests, most reopened relatively quickly.

The city learns of positive tests either during the random testing or, more commonly for the moment, when a staff member or student alerts the school.

Positive test results are funneled to city employees from the Education Department and other agencies, and a team is assigned to work with the school, to get rosters of students and staff if needed and to begin contact tracing.

Joanna Smulakowski, whose son goes to in-person classes two to three times a week at Public School 24 in the Riverdale neighborhood of the Bronx, said she was impressed with the school’s safety precautions.

One day, she saw officials turn away two students running fevers, before they even entered the building.

“I feel safe,” Ms. Smulakowski said. “And my friends who are sending their kids to school, they also feel safe.”

An indication that local efforts could serve as an influential model for the rest of the country.

Y

International

The New York Times

In London, the Bash at Gatsby’s Mansion Is Jumping. But Stay Seated, Please.

‘Immersive Theater,
Just Less Interactive’

By ALEX MARSHALL

LONDON — One afternoon in September, nine cast members of “The Great Gatsby,” an immersive theater show staged like a party at Jay Gatsby’s mansion, were sweatily dancing the Charleston in a London venue.

There should have been 10 of them in the rehearsal, but one actor, M.J. Lee, was serving as the show’s impromptu choreographer. The dancer who usually does that was stuck at home, waiting for the result of a coronavirus test.

Ms. Lee did not seem bothered by the responsibility. “That’s great!” she kept shouting at James Lawrence, an actor playing Nick Carraway, the show’s narrator, as he struggled with the steps.

“The Great Gatsby,” which has been running in London since 2017, is one of a number of West End shows attempting a comeback this fall after lockdown forced their closure in March. But it has arguably faced the largest hurdles, because of its unusual, immersive staging.

Before lockdown, the show was often described as being as much a party as a play. Audience members came dressed in suits or flapper dresses, and stood drinking in a grand room of a London townhouse, decorated in the style of a 1920s bar. During the show, the actors roamed among the audience, often talking directly with attendees to bring them into the action.

The cast would also take a handful of lucky audience members off to other rooms in the townhouse — Gatsby’s boudoir, for instance — to take part in short, interactive scenes. (Sometimes audience members got a bit too close. In 2018, the police were called after actors complained of being sexually assaulted by audience members.)

The whole basis of the show had to change because of coronavirus, said Katy Eynon, its general manager, as she watched the rehearsal. “It’s a shame,” she said. “The freedom to move among the audience was something we used to play with, and now we’re slightly restricted to a more traditional theater set-up,” she added.

Before lockdown, she said, the Charleston had been staged as a dance lesson for the 250-strong audience, with everyone encouraged to join in. Now, it would simply involve the actors dancing, and there would be only 70 spectators, all wearing masks and sitting in chairs, spaced out to maintain social distancing.

Some audience members would still be taken off to other rooms, Ms. Eynon added, but their experiences would be different. In the boudoir, for instance, Gatsby used to throw the contents of his wardrobe over attendees as he searched for the perfect party outfit. But so many people touching the same items now carried a risk, she added. Gatsby would now fire questions at audience members about which outfit they liked.

“It’s still immersive theater,” Ms. Eynon said, “just less interactive.”

At the rehearsal, on Sep. 22, all the creative changes for the show’s comeback had been agreed. But Ms. Eynon said she was still feeling “a little stressed” because of another issue: the British government’s coronavirus rules, which have been changing regularly, at short notice. Moments before that day’s rehearsal, Prime Minister Boris Johnson announced that hospitality venues would have to shut at 10 p.m.

That wasn’t great for “Gatsby,” Ms. Eynon said, as it made a profit by keeping its bar open after the show finished. “We’ll see what changes tomorrow!” she added.

By early October, a few weeks after the rehearsal, “The Great Gatsby” had reopened. Around 7 p.m. the first of the night’s 70-odd guests arrived at the townhouse in the Mayfair district, some in glittering dresses accessorized with blue surgical masks.

Ms. Eynon, standing outside, said she



Before the pandemic, Daisy Buchanan (Lucinda Turner) and Jay Gatsby (Craig Hamilton) kissed in this scene in the London production of “The Great Gatsby.”



Left, M.J. Lee as Myrtle and Lucas Jones as George Wilson in one of the production’s breakout rooms, which is concealed behind the main Jazz Bar set, above. “Gatsby” faces a unique set of production challenges during the pandemic because it’s an “immersive” show that requires audience participation.

was relieved the show was finally up and running. The new safety measures were all in place, Ms. Eynon added. As well as temperature checks at the door, there was an air filtration system whirring away inside, cleaning the air every six minutes, she explained, and each room would be treated with ultraviolet light to kill germs between performances.

In interviews with eight audience members as they arrived, only one spoke of concerns about the coronavirus. “I am

hard to escape. Rosy Rosenthal (Hugh Stubbins) started the show by standing on the bar and declaring some very un-Gatsby rules, chief among them that attendees must never leave their seats unless a cast member invited them to.

“Get those masks on, let’s get this party swinging,” he said to finish.

But once that was out of the way, the changes to the show were unobtrusive. When audience members were taken away to watch the immersive scenes, the characters gave them subtle reminders to sanitize their hands. “Let’s freshen up,” said Nick Carraway, adding, “It’s New York City, you never know who’s touched what.”

Ruth Turner, 30, a civil servant, said she felt jealous watching people leave the main room to go off to the secret locations. “Normally in immersive theater, you walk around where you want,” she said. Being made to sit in one place felt like “watching a play in a bar,” she added.

Maia Honan, 52, was more enthusiastic. “The whole experience is just so special,” she said, adding that she’d been invited to take part in the action by playing one of Gatsby’s maids and setting up a tea service for him. “We’ve all been in lockdown so long, everything’s so heightened.”

She worried the play might have to close again, she added, given the government looked likely to announce new restrictions, but hoped that wouldn’t happen. The whole of England is subject to a 10 p.m. hospitality curfew, and, on Saturday, a ban on households mixing indoors came in for London, though theaters can remain open.

At 9:55 p.m., a few minutes before the curfew, “The Great Gatsby” finished to cheers. Mr. Lawrence stood on the bar and briefly dropped out of character to address everyone. “A big welcome back to just getting together and doing things again,” he said.

“This is normally the time we say we’ll get out of costume and join you for a drink,” he added. “But that’s illegal. So have a beautiful, beautiful evening.”

High-Level U.S. Mission to Syria Sought Release of American Prisoners

By RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

High-level United States officials traveled recently to Syria for rare talks with the Assad government in an attempt to secure the release of American citizens held prisoner there, a high priority for the Trump administration, but there has been little apparent progress so far, officials said.

The secret U.S. mission to Damascus in August focused on Austin Tice, a freelance journalist who was seized while reporting on the Syrian civil war in 2012, and Majd Kamalmaz, a psychotherapist who was taken in 2017. The trip was first reported by The Wall Street Journal and confirmed by two U.S. officials with knowledge of American operations in the Middle East, including a senior administration official, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The senior official cautioned that the attempt was still in its early stages, and that the U.S. government did not have any recent proof that Mr. Tice, 39, was still alive. The Syrian government has not publicly acknowledged holding ei-

ther him or Mr. Kamalmaz, 62, who is diabetic and requires regular medication, according to his family and the U.S. government.

Previous contacts by the United States about prisoners held by President Bashar al-Assad’s government have fizzled out, but his regime has much to gain, potentially, from improved relations with Washington. The Trump administration has secured the release of people held in several other countries in the Middle East, a goal of particular interest to the president.

In August, Kashyap Patel, the senior counterterrorism director at the National Security Council, and Roger D. Carstens, the State Department’s special envoy for hostage affairs, went to Damascus to meet with Ali Mamlouk, the head of Syria’s National Security Bureau intelligence service, U.S. officials said.

Diplomatic relations between the two countries have been minimal since the United States closed its embassy in Damascus in 2012 and ordered the closing of the Syrian embassy in Washington in 2014. The United States has long labeled Syria, considered a pariah state by much of the world, as a sponsor of terrorism, and has imposed sanctions on the coun-

try and its officials for human rights violations before and during the war that began in 2011.

But in 2017, Mike Pompeo, then the C.I.A. director, called Mr. Mamlouk to open back-channel communications on Mr. Tice. Washington then sent an intermediary to see Mr. Mamlouk, the officials said. They met for hours and the intermediary delivered an unsigned letter from the U.S. government.

But the effort was halted the next year, when the Syrian government launched a chemical attack on a rebel-held area, and the United States responded with missile strikes on Syrian targets. Weeks later, French authorities issued international arrest warrants for Mr. Mamlouk and other officials, in connection with torture, killings and war crimes.

In August 2018, the C.I.A. sent a top agency official with expertise in the Middle East to meet Mr. Mamlouk in Damascus, where the official raised the case of Mr. Tice.

A year ago, Mr. Trump ordered the withdrawal of most of the American troops in Syria, in effect ceding back to Mr. Assad territory that had been captured from the Islamic State. Critics questioned why the administration had not demanded anything from Syria in return, like the release of prisoners.

Mr. Tice, a Marine Corps veteran, was attending law school at Georgetown University when he decided to cover the war in Syria, where he wrote articles for several news organizations. His family has been outspoken about maintaining interest in his case and seeking his release, and said as recently as 2018 they were confident he was still alive.

“For years we have pushed for engagement between the U.S. and Syrian governments to help bring our son safely home, so we hope recent reports are accurate,” his parents, Marc and Debra Tice, said in a statement released on Monday. “We are deeply grateful to everyone working for Austin’s safe return, and his continued absence shows there is



Majd Kamalmaz, a psychotherapist, was last seen visiting family in 2017.

more to be done.”

Mr. Kamalmaz, who was born in Syria and grew up in the United States, had established a mental health clinic in Lebanon for refugees from the Syrian war. He went to Syria to visit family members and was taken the day after he arrived.

Archaeologists Find Ancient Cat Etching On Peru Heritage Site

By TIFFANY MAY

The image, stretching for 40 yards on a hillside in Peru, shows a creature with pointy ears, orb-like eyes and a long striped tail. It appears to be a cat lounging, as cats often do.

Archaeologists stumbled across the faded etching while re-modeling a section of a UNESCO heritage site known as the Nazca Lines, Peru's Ministry of Culture announced last week.

The catlike geoglyph — which experts say dates to 200 B.C. to 100 B.C. — is the latest discovery among the carvings of larger-

Joining large images of a hummingbird, a monkey and an orca.

than-life animals and plants previously found between the towns of Nazca and Palpa, in a desert plain about 250 miles southeast of the capital, Lima.

“The discovery shows, once again, the rich and varied cultural legacy of this site,” the ministry said in a statement.

The Nazca Lines were first discovered by a Peruvian aerial surveyor in 1927. Images of a hummingbird, a monkey and an orca were unearthed at the site. UNESCO has designated the Lines and Geoglyphs of Nasca and Palpa a World Heritage Site since 1994.

The cat etching is believed to be older than any of the prehistoric

geoglyphs previously unearthed at Nazca.

“It’s quite striking that we’re still finding new figures, but we also know that there are more to be found,” Johnny Isla, Peru’s chief archaeologist for the Nazca lines, told Efe, a Spanish news agency.

The designs were believed to have been created when ancient Peruvians scraped off a dark and rocky layer of earth, which contrasts with lighter-colored sand underneath. Researchers believe that the figures once served as travel markers.

Drone photography has led to several discoveries in recent years, Mr. Isla said. In 2019, researchers from Japan, aided by satellite photography and three-dimensional imaging, unearthed more than 140 new geoglyphs at the site.

Research and conservation work had continued at the site even during the coronavirus pandemic, when most tourist sites have been closed. Archaeologists and employees were working on the Mirador Natural, a lookout point in the protected site, when they began unearthing something intriguing. When they cleaned the mound, clear lines showing the sinuous body of a cat emerged.

“The figure was barely visible and was about to disappear because it is situated on quite a steep slope that’s prone to the effects of natural erosion,” the culture ministry said in a statement.

The authorities said that even a stray footprint could mar the fragile grounds, and have imposed strict rules against trespassing at the site. Before the pandemic shut



A feline figure was uncovered this month at the Nazca Lines, a UNESCO heritage site in southern Peru. It may date back to 200 B.C.

down tours, visitors were permitted to view the lines and figures only from planes and lookout points.

But disturbances at the Nazca lines have occurred, drawing widespread condemnation.

In 2014, Greenpeace activists

left shoe marks near a large hummingbird design when they placed a sign that promoted renewable energy, Peruvian officials said.

“You walk there and the footprint is going to last hundreds or thousands of years,” Luis Jaime

Castillo, a Peruvian official and archaeologist, told The Guardian at the time. “And the line that they have destroyed is the most visible and most recognized of all.”

In 2018, a truck driver was arrested after intentionally driving his tractor-trailer across three

lines of geoglyphs.

Even as Peru works to preserve its ancient sites, officials reopened Machu Picchu this month for one lucky tourist after he became stranded during the pandemic and waited seven months to see the 16th-century Inca citadel.

Spain’s Far Right Uses Law It Hates Against Its Rivals

By RAPHAEL MINDER

MADRID — Leftist politicians in Spain have worked slowly but steadily over the years to remove symbols commemorating the former dictator Gen. Francisco Franco from public spaces across the country.

Now, despite denouncing those efforts, their political opponents are trying to use the same law to persuade the authorities in Madrid to erase memorials to Franco’s rivals.

This past week, city employees removed a plaque from the home of Francisco Largo Caballero, a Socialist who became prime minister of the Republican government in 1936, a few months after Franco and other generals started a military coup that plunged Spain into a civil war.

Largo Caballero fled to France when Franco claimed victory in 1939. He was later arrested during the Nazi occupation and sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. He died in exile in Paris in 1946. The plaque was taken down on Thursday — the 151st anniversary of his birth.

Juan E. Pflüger, spokesman for Vox, the far-right party behind the removal of the plaque, said the action was a warning to the leftist coalition leading the national government that the legislation, called the “law of historical memory,” should be abolished.

“We want to remove the law and leave history in peace,” Mr. Pflüger said.

The “law of historical memory” was enacted in 2007 with the aim of condemning the Franco regime and forbidding the exaltation of leaders or symbols related to the military coup and the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s. The Spanish government used the same law last year to exhume Franco’s remains from a basilica that he built outside Madrid.

Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez responded on Twitter that the warnings from Vox were “unacceptable.” He added: “Let us continue building a Spain worthy of those who fought so we could be what we are now: free.”

Spain has long been bitterly divided about whether to stir the bones of its past, but the dispute has intensified since 2018, when Mr. Sánchez took office with a promise to revive the historical memory law that had been approved by a previous Socialist government and then ignored by a conservative administration. One of the measure’s main goals is to help finance the opening of more than 2,000 mass graves across Spain.

Vox is pressing for the removal or alteration of monuments dedicated to Largo Caballero and another Socialist politician of the 1930s, Indalecio Prieto, including a boulevard named after Prieto on the outskirts of Madrid.

In a recent speech in the Madrid assembly, Javier Ortega Smith, a Vox lawmaker, said that the ef-

forts were “not revisionism, but putting an end to a historical lie.” He called the two politicians “sinister characters in our history that should not form part of the names of the streets and squares.”

Vox argues that, far from deserving exaltation as defenders of democracy, both Socialists helped spark revolutionary unrest before the coup took place, and then joined a Republican government that allowed the summary executions of Fascist opponents once the war got underway.

More than 200 historians, from Spain and abroad, have signed a report forcefully rejecting Vox’s account of the roles of Largo Caballero and Prieto in the 1930s.

Paul Preston, a British historian who signed the report and is a leading expert on the Spanish Civil War, said in an email that it was “malicious and unfair” to equate leftist politicians like Largo Caballero and Prieto with some of Franco’s generals, whom he described as “mass murderers.”

Ramón Silva, a Socialist politician, said the city politics of Madrid had been “contaminated” by the emergence of Vox, now the third-largest party in Spain. He noted that the plaque at Largo Caballero’s birthplace was erected in 1981, shortly after Spain’s return

An intense dispute over a country’s ‘historical memory.’

to democracy, with the support of politicians from all parties.

Madrid’s city politics shifted last year, after elections that led to José Luis Martínez-Almeida, a politician from the conservative Popular Party, taking over as mayor from Manuela Carmena, a leftist politician. Mr. Martínez-Almeida is running Madrid in coalition with Vox and Ciudadanos, a center-right party.

Since taking office, Mr. Martínez-Almeida’s administration has removed plaques from a Madrid cemetery memorial naming over 2,900 people killed under Franco’s orders. The city government argued that the memorial should honor victims without identifying them or saying which side they supported in the civil war.

Opposition politicians in Madrid said they planned to challenge the removal of the Largo Caballero plaque in court.

Teresa Amor, a spokeswoman for the Socialists in Madrid, said the dispute showed that the country still needed to come to terms with its history.

“Spain has not healed the wounds of our past and also certainly needs to do a lot more homework about its Fascist dictatorship,” she said. “We still have plenty of people who don’t understand that winning a war is not the same as gaining legitimacy.”

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U.S. State Dept. to Drop Sudan From Terror List

This article is by *Lara Jakes, Declan Walsh and Eric Schmitt.*

WASHINGTON — The State Department will take Sudan off a list of countries that sponsor terrorism, clearing the way for the East African nation's fragile government to seek international assistance and, potentially, normalized relations with Israel — a diplomatic goal for President Trump before the election next month.

Mr. Trump on Monday announced the decision, which had been formally discussed between the United States and Sudan since 2018, after several months of intensified negotiations by the White House.

Removing Sudan from the terrorism list was a necessary precursor to it becoming the latest Arab state to broker an official détente with Israel. Two U.S. officials said that Sudan and Israel could normalize relations in days, once

Sudan is to pay \$335 million to victims of three Qaeda attacks.

details of the removal from the terrorism list were completed. The carefully choreographed sequence was intended to soften likely criticism of the Israel deal inside Sudan.

Mr. Trump, grasping to remind voters of his foreign policy achievements, has likened the diplomacy to peace agreements that could cool generations of tensions across the Middle East and North Africa.

“GREAT news! New government of Sudan, which is making great progress, agreed to pay \$335 MILLION to U.S. terror victims and families,” he wrote on Twitter. “Once deposited, I will lift Sudan from the State Sponsors of Terrorism list. At long last, JUSTICE for the American people and BIG step for Sudan!”

Only three countries — Iran, North Korea and Syria — remain on the State Department's list of state sponsors of terrorism.

As a condition of removal from the list, Sudan has agreed to pay \$335 million to compensate vic-

Lara Jakes and Eric Schmitt reported from Washington, and Declan Walsh from Cairo.

tims of Qaeda attacks on United States Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the Navy destroyer Cole in 2000. The money will be held in an escrow account until Congress agrees to give Sudan immunity for other terrorist attacks.

Sudan has been on the list since 1993, when the American authorities concluded that the country's leader at the time, Omar Hassan al-Bashir, gave refuge and other help to Hezbollah and Palestinian militant groups that the United States considers terrorists. American courts have also concluded that Sudan was complicit in the attacks on the embassies and the Cole.

But officials in Sudan's fragile transitional government have been divided on whether to formalize diplomacy with Israel — a condition the Trump administration introduced at the 11th hour as part of a frantic, pre-election drive to persuade or pressure Arab nations to drop their historical enmity with Israel.

As recently as last week, Prime Minister Abdalla Hamdok of Sudan said he opposed doing so. He had previously warned that the perception of being pushed into an American-backed, election-eve agreement with Israel could fuel unrest in his country, which is simmering over a severe economic crisis in which annual inflation soared to 212 percent last month, with shortages of food, bread and medicine.

“Washington has been very focused on what it wants to get out of this and hasn't been sensitive to the challenges inside Sudan,” said Cameron Hudson, who formerly worked on Sudan issues at the State Department and is now a scholar at the Atlantic Council think tank.

It was in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, after the Arab-Israeli War of 1967 that the Arab League announced its “three no's” resolution, which opposed peace, negotiations and recognition of Israel. That resolution was widely recognized among Arab states until President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt made a historic trip to Jerusalem in 1977.

Yet until last month, Egypt and Jordan were the only two Arab states with formal diplomatic relations with Israel. That changed in September, when Mr. Trump helped cement normalized relations between Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain, although the two countries already had some security



MARWAN ALI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The U.S. is also pushing Sudan to normalize relations with Israel, but some Sudanese officials fear that would incite internal unrest.

and economic ties with Israel.

Israel also has quietly worked to warm relations with Sudan over the past year.

In February, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel met with Sudan's de facto leader, Lt. Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, for talks in Uganda that were reportedly arranged by the United Arab Emirates. Days later, Sudan began allowing Israeli commercial planes to fly in its airspace.

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo seized on the thaw in August. Traveling to Khartoum on the first official direct flight from Tel Aviv, he personally broached with Mr. Hamdok both a détente with Israel and the terrorism list removal, the State Department said.

Sudanese officials described the encounter differently. Mr. Pompeo told Mr. Hamdok that his country had to recognize Israel immediately if longstanding negotiations over Sudan's removal from the American terrorism list were to succeed, said a senior Sudanese official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the talks.

As a further incentive, Mr. Pompeo offered the Sudanese \$80 million in humanitarian aid to help fight the coronavirus pandemic, an offer that Mr. Hamdok declined out of hand.

Since then, the Sudanese government has been torn between a desire to get off the terrorism list as quickly as possible, hoping to bolster its faltering economy, and fears that recognition of Israel could prompt political instability and collapse the country's fragile democratic transition.

For the Trump administration, it is part of a campaign to score foreign policy achievements on the cusp of the American presidential election, and it included financial incentives for Sudan, which has been widely believed to be the next country to recognize Israel.

Officials familiar with the latest offer to Sudan said it would include humanitarian aid, 400,000 metric tons of wheat to alleviate the country's food shortage and a promise that an American economic delegation would visit to consider potential investments in agriculture.

American aid to Sudan was limited so long as it was on the terrorism list. That designation also hindered the country's ability to receive debt relief and international financial assistance, and, in turn, stunted foreign investment.

The United States has been on its own path to diplomacy with Sudan for years. After Mr. al-Bashir cut ties with Iran in 2016, Ameri-

can officials began easing sanctions against Sudan to reward its cooperation on counterterrorism missions and ending military attacks against its citizens.

Negotiations to remove Sudan from the State Department list had escalated over the past 18 months, as officials in the Trump administration and Congress saw an opportunity to support democracy after a generation of oppression, when Mr. al-Bashir was ousted.

“The people of Sudan courageously rose up to depose a long-time dictator in 2019, and since that time Prime Minister Hamdok and the transitional government have continued important steps toward democratic reform,” Senator Chris Coons, Democrat of Delaware, said in a statement on Monday, welcoming the decision to remove Sudan from the list.

But the compensation to victims has been snarled by politics.

The \$335 million will not be released from the escrow account until lawmakers resolve whether Sudan should be held liable for its role in harboring Al Qaeda before the attacks on Sept. 11, 2001. American courts have not ordered the country to pay victims of those attacks or their families.

There is also a divide over an unequal distribution of payments

for the victims of the embassy bombings that would award American citizens far more than Kenyan and Tanzanian employees — nearly all of whom are Black — who were foreign citizens at the time of the attacks.

With nearly half of their 45 million citizens living in poverty, Sudanese officials have said the country cannot afford to pay more than the \$335 million that was negotiated with the State Department. Even that amount will not be held in escrow indefinitely, leaving lawmakers rushing for a resolution before Sudan is compelled to reclaim it — which one official said could happen early next year.

Riz Khaliq, a former Commerce Department official who was injured in the attack on the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, said the congressional dispute had reopened old wounds.

“It's obviously encouraging that Sudan finally is accepting responsibility for the al-Bashir regime's support of terrorism and is trying to make amends,” Mr. Khaliq said. “It's as if Sudan recognizes all that we have suffered as a result of the bombing, but our own Congress does not. It's painful that our own Congress cannot seem to get behind us and get this done.”

Chinese Diplomats Crash Taiwanese National Day Event in Fiji. A Fistfight Ensues.

By JAVIER C. HERNÁNDEZ

TAIPEI, Taiwan — It was supposed to be a quiet diplomatic event at a stylish beachside hotel in Fiji.

Instead, a reception hosted this month by Taiwan officials in Suva, the capital of Fiji, gave way to a fistfight between officials representing China and Taiwan, in the latest example of rising tensions between the two governments.

Officials in Taipei and Beijing on Monday offered competing accounts of the altercation after reports about the clash spread widely on social media.

They accused each other of initiating the feud and causing injuries. Taiwan said the Chinese government was trying to surveil its staff and guests. Beijing said its officials were carrying out normal duties, and complained that a cake at the event was decorated to look like Taiwan's flag.

At the heart of the issue is a longstanding dispute over the status of Taiwan, a self-governing island of 24 million people that China claims as its territory. Fears of a military conflict have grown

Amy Chang Chien and Albee Zhang contributed research.

as Beijing has increased the frequency of live-fire drills and adopted a more bellicose tone.

China has led a concerted effort in recent years to undercut Taiwan's influence on the global stage, including in the Pacific. As part of that campaign, Beijing has poached several allies of Taiwan in the region, despite objections from the United States and other governments.

Those tensions spilled over at the Grand Pacific Hotel in Suva on Oct. 8, when Taiwan hosted a reception to celebrate its national day before an audience of Fijian officials, scholars and nonprofit workers. (Fiji does not have official relations with Taipei.)

According to Taiwan's foreign ministry, a pair of Chinese diplomats showed up at the reception uninvited and sought to photograph guests. Beijing has deployed such tactics — turning up at events, taking photographs of people — in recent years to intimidate its rivals and those who support them.

When Taiwanese officials tried to block the Chinese diplomats, the visitors turned violent, according to the ministry. They beat a Taiwanese official so severely that the official was hospitalized,

the ministry said.

Taiwan's foreign ministry on Monday called the actions of the Chinese officials a provocation and said it would work to strengthen security for government workers overseas. In a statement, the ministry said it “strongly condemns the serious violation of the rule of law and civilized norms by the staff of the Chinese Embassy in Fiji.”

The Chinese government disputed that account, saying Taiwan officials had acted “provocatively” and injured one of its diplomats during the scuffle. The Chinese embassy did not explain why its diplomats were at the reception, saying in a statement only that they were “carrying out their official duties” in a public area.

Beijing made clear that it saw the reception as a political threat. While Fiji, an archipelago in the South Pacific, is a longtime ally of Beijing, Taiwan maintains a trade office in Suva and has sought to raise its profile by investing in education and agriculture.

“There is only one China in the world, and Taiwan is an integral part of China,” Zhao Lijian, a spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry, said at a news con-

ference in Beijing on Monday. He called the image on the cake at the event a “fake national flag.”

“Taiwan's move is intended to create ‘two Chinas’ or ‘one China, one Taiwan’ internationally,” he said.

Officials in Fiji did not respond to a request for comment.

The incident resurfaced concerns about China's increasingly aggressive foreign policy. China's

An altercation that lands a Taiwanese official in a hospital.

top leader, Xi Jinping, has stepped up efforts to defend the country's reputation abroad during the coronavirus pandemic, which emerged in the Chinese city of Wuhan and has badly damaged China's image.

Chinese emissaries have increasingly practiced what is known as “Wolf Warrior” diplomacy, named for two ultrapatriotic Chinese films. But their strident defenses of Chinese policies

and attacks on rivals have sometimes backfired, weakening China's efforts to counter American influence and expand its military and economic power.

Wang Ting-yu, a legislator in Taiwan who specializes in foreign affairs, said the dispute in Fiji showed the excesses of China's assertive approach.

“China's ‘Wolf Warrior’ diplomacy is a mad dog that bites arbitrarily,” Mr. Wang said in an interview. “The biggest problem in China now is that under Xi Jinping's rule, their diplomats have turned to seeking private revenge. They have disregarded their country's diplomatic interests to follow the internal orders of the leaders.”

In mainland China, the incident stoked an outpouring of nationalist sentiment and criticism of Taiwan. By Monday evening, the scuffle in Fiji was one of the most popular topics on Weibo, a microblogging site.

Chinese analysts defended the country's approach, saying an increasingly hostile international environment meant that Beijing had to act forcefully.

“China is now faced with a pack of wolves, including the Taiwan

authorities constantly creating all kinds of troubles in the international community,” Song Zhongping, an independent military analyst based in Hong Kong, said in an interview.

In recent months, Beijing has increased military activities in the strait that separates the mainland from Taiwan and promoted propaganda to signal that China will go to war if necessary to assert control of Taiwan. Taiwan has sought closer ties with the United States, welcoming Trump administration officials in recent months for high-level visits to the island, angering Beijing.

Beijing has intensified its efforts to block symbols of Taiwan's soft power and de facto independence, denouncing the island's flag, or events like the national day celebration as illegitimate.

“Talk about squeezing Taiwan's international space,” Margaret Lewis, a law professor at Seton Hall University in New Jersey who studies China and Taiwan, said in an interview. “It's sad to see even a celebratory reception at a hotel in Fiji is declared a space by the Chinese government that cannot have freedom of assembly.”

India Arrests Chinese Soldier on Nations’ Disputed Border

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN

NEW DELHI — The Indian troops fed the captured Chinese soldier a meal. They gave him oxygen and some warm clothes. They treated him respectfully, both sides indicated, and the Indians said that they planned to release him soon.

The Indian military revealed on Monday that its forces had captured a Chinese corporal who had strayed across the disputed, unmarked high-altitude border that zigzags between the two nations, the first time a soldier had been reported captured since hostilities exploded between India and China in June.

The friendly treatment seemed to signal that maybe, finally, after rounds and rounds of talks, tensions were slightly easing between the Indian and Chinese

Hari Kumar contributed reporting from New Delhi, and Steven Lee Myers from Seoul, South Korea.

troops positioned high up in the Himalayas. In June, a vicious brawl erupted in the same area, along the rocky edges of India's Ladakh region, in which 20 Indian soldiers and an unknown number of Chinese troops were killed.

Hu Xijin, editor of The Global Times, a Chinese Communist Party newspaper, said that Beijing and New Delhi were “working toward a proper resolution,” and that it appeared the captured Chinese soldier had gotten lost.

“This matter should not cause new tensions in the border area,” he wrote in a post on the social media site Weibo. “The smooth resolution of this matter is also a sign that the two countries have made progress in recent negotiations.”

The Indian Army said in a statement on Monday that its troops had provided the food, clothing and other aid to the Chinese soldier to “protect him from the vagaries of extreme altitude and harsh climatic conditions” and that he

would be released “after completion of formalities.”

Since June, Indian and Chinese officials have been meeting regularly. Both countries have nuclear weapons, and they seem to want a way out of the crisis, but both are also led by strong-willed nationalists unwilling to back down.

The border area is considered strategically important. It snakes through icy mountain passes that rise higher than 15,000 feet and touches several contentious territories, such as Tibet and Kashmir. It has been a sore spot for decades. In 1962, the two nations went to war over the same area and China won, taking firm control of a high-altitude plateau, Aksai Chin, that India wants back.

After the brawl in June, in which Chinese troops used spiked iron clubs to beat Indian soldiers to death, tens of thousands of reinforcements rushed in. Military analysts say that the troops remain dangerously close, in many

places just a few hundred yards apart, and that they are backed up by fighter jets, tanks, artillery pieces and armored personnel carriers.

Several soldiers were captured during the June fighting and in the smaller brawls that led up to it in April and May.

A few shots were even fired in September, breaking India and China's longstanding agreement not to use firearms during border confrontations.

Since then, though, it appears that both sides have invested more in the effort to talk out their differences. Indian and Chinese military officials have held seven rounds of discussions, and Indian officials said in a recent statement that they had “a sincere, in-depth and constructive exchange of views on disengagement” with their Chinese counterparts.

But some Indian analysts said they were still a little suspicious. “The winter's going to be



YAWAR NAZIR/GETTY IMAGES

An Indian Army convoy carrying reinforcements and supplies on a highway bordering China in Gagangir, India, last month.

tough,” said D.S. Hooda, a retired general.

“I know that the Indian Army has considerable experience in operating in Ladakh during the winter months,” he said. “The P.L.A. also seems to be building habitat for housing troops during the winter,” referring to China's

forces, known as the People's Liberation Army.

Mr. Hooda said that during night patrols, soldiers sometimes inadvertently strayed across the border, which he said was most likely what had happened in the case of the captured Chinese soldier.

Bolivian Voters Signal Support for the Legacy Of an Ousted Leader

By JULIE TURKEWITZ

LA PAZ, Bolivia — In a presidential election that was widely viewed as a referendum on the legacy of Evo Morales, Bolivia's first Indigenous president, voters appear to have spoken clearly: They want his socialist project to go on.

On Monday, exit polls in Bolivia showed Mr. Morales's handpicked candidate, Luis Arce, with such a wide lead that his main opponent, Carlos Mesa, conceded the election, and Mr. Arce's supporters began celebrating in the streets — despite the fact that official results may not be available for days.

“It is up to us, those who believe in democracy, those who said we would accept the result, favorable or not, to recognize that there is a victor in this election,” said Mr. Mesa. “We accept this result.”

One pollster, Ciesmori, said around midnight on Sunday that Mr. Arce had 52.4 percent of votes, and that Mr. Mesa trailed with 31.5 percent.

Outside Mr. Arce's campaign headquarters, more than a hundred people gathered in celebration on Monday, chanting “the pollera will be respected!” — a reference to the traditional skirt that has become the symbol of his party's Indigenous base.

Mr. Arce is the chosen successor of Mr. Morales, a transformative figure in a nation where power was traditionally concentrated in the hands of a wealthy, white elite.

During his 14 years in office, Mr. Morales slashed poverty, built roads and schools, and national-

ized the oil and gas industry. But he fled the country last year after his run for a fourth term ended in accusations that he had committed election fraud, deadly protests and a call by the military for him to step down. He called his ouster a coup. He sat out this year's vote in neighboring Argentina.

In the interim, the country has been run by a temporary president, a conservative named Jeanine Añez, who has persecuted the former president's supporters, rolled back many of his policies and stifled dissent. Mr. Morales has remained a contentious figure in Bolivia, both adored for his role in aiding the poor and criticized for holding on to power for too long.

On Election Day, voters frequently voiced frustration with Mr. Morales, but said that they still believed in his party, the Movimiento al Socialismo, or MAS, saying it was the only political movement that would stand by families who had lived on the margins for so many generations.

Some said they feared that Mr. Mesa, despite his conciliatory tone and attempt to build a wide coalition, would follow in Ms. Añez's steps.

Mr. Mesa, a former journalist and historian, was president from 2003 to 2005, but resigned amid protests that included calls for the country to nationalize gas resources. He had taken the reins after serving as vice president to another leader, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, known as “Goni,” and some voters continue to associate Mr. Mesa with his predecessor's policies of privatization.

“We can't go back to the time



JULIE TURKEWITZ/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Luis Arce is leading the exit polls in Bolivia's presidential election, but official results are pending.

when we are suffering and others are winning,” said Luisa Alvarez, 40, a voter in the MAS stronghold of El Alto.

In El Alto and the adjacent city of La Paz, the administrative capital, versions of “Mesa = Añez” and “Mesa = Goni” are frequent graffiti sightings.

Speaking from his campaign office on Monday, Mr. Mesa said that based on the exit polls, he was admitting that his opponent had won and that his party would be “head of the democratic opposition for 2020-2025.”

Mr. Arce's party declined to claim victory, instead saying they were waiting for an official count. At MAS campaign headquarters, party spokeswoman Marianela Paco said they were waiting for the electoral body to announce results, because they didn't want to “spoil the happiness” by calling the vote without a sanctioned

tally.

But she called the 20-point exit poll lead an “overwhelming” result, and said that party's goal now was to “reconstruct the ruins” left behind by Ms. Añez.

Mr. Arce has positioned himself as a transition candidate, vowing to carry on Mr. Morales's legacy, while training younger leaders from his party to take the reins.

“We are MAS 2.0,” he said in an interview shortly before the election.

He added that Mr. Morales would have no role in his government.

A former economics minister for Mr. Morales, Mr. Arce inherits a country that is deeply divided and facing an economic crisis. Wounds from last year's protests are still raw. The coronavirus has battered the economy. And Mr. Arce will not have a key tool that

helped Mr. Morales — a commodities boom that sent money flowing in.

On Election Day, in the small city of Achocalla, Víctor Apaza, 40, stood with his elderly mother on his arm. She wore a pink sweater and a traditional skirt. Both had just voted.

Mr. Apaza, who lost his job in a metal factory amid the pandemic, said that he was voting for Mr. Arce because he believed the candidate was the only one who could rescue Bolivia from its social crisis — “we want a reconciliation,” he said — while also implementing just economic policies for men like him.

The metal factory had just offered him his job back — at a reduced salary.

But he also issued a warning. If Mr. Arce “doesn't bring us solutions,” he said, “we'll go to the street. There's no other option.”

U.S. Charges 6 Russian Intelligence Officers in Global Cyberattacks

From Page A1

return an email seeking comment. Russians officials, including President Vladimir V. Putin, have long maintained that they have no role in hacking, saying that the claims are disinformation devised to undermine the country's standing in the world.

Prosecutors said the suspects worked for Unit 74455 of the Russian intelligence Main Directorate, commonly referred to as the G.R.U. Known among cybersecurity analysts as Sandworm, the unit worked hand in hand with another G.R.U. unit to leak Democrats' stolen emails during the 2016 election, embarrassing Hillary Clinton's campaign in the final stretch.

Cybersecurity and national security experts had long argued that the Russians were behind the hacks that prosecutors detailed on Monday. But the indictment was the first time a major law enforcement agency made the allegation, bolstering the hacking unit's notoriety as one of the most audacious in the world.

One of the suspects charged in the newly unsealed indictments, Anatoly Sergeyevich Kovalev, was indicted two years ago on charges announced by the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, over the 2016 election hacks. Mr. Kovalev was accused of playing a role in hacking election administration infrastructure alongside a larger scheme by other G.R.U. officers indicted in the thefts and release of emails from Democratic computer networks.

The new charges did not address 2020 election interference; American intelligence agencies have assessed that Russia is trying to influence the vote in November.

The charges also showed the limits of the United States' power to deter Russia. Many of the

Julian E. Barnes and Tariq Panja contributed reporting.



PAVEL GOLOVKIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Russian Main Intelligence Directorate in Moscow, or G.R.U. U.S. prosecutors say six suspects belonged to its Unit 74455.

breaches occurred after the United States imposed sanctions and publicly rebuked Russia over its 2016 election sabotage, and it is highly unlikely that the Kremlin will hand over the intelligence officers to stand trial in American courts.

Among the operations that the Justice Department cited was the release of stolen documents just as voting was beginning in France's presidential election in 2017, an apparent bid to hurt Emmanuel Macron in his eventual victory against Marine Le Pen, a far-right candidate supported by Moscow. Security researchers at the time quickly blamed Russia.

Unlike the distribution of hacked emails in the 2016 American election, the French operation mixed genuine documents with altered material. The French news media largely ignored the stolen documents, in part because of questions of their authenticity, but also because France was in a government-mandated blackout period immediately before the vote.

American officials have warned that Russia could repeat those tactics in the presidential race in the United States this year, mixing false

sified material with real stolen documents in a way that is difficult to tell fact from fiction.

The indictment also portrayed Russia as determined to disrupt the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang, South Korea, in retaliation for its embarrassing ban from the Olympics over its systemic efforts to undermine anti-doping rules.

The G.R.U. for months sent spoofed emails to members of the International Olympic Committee, athletes and other companies, posing as Olympics or Korean government officials to trick the recipients into giving them access to key Olympics infrastructure. At one point, they hacked a company that provided time-keeping services to the Olympics, court papers showed.

Having laid their trap, the Russian officers attacked the opening ceremony of the Games, taking down internet access and telecasts, grounding broadcasters' drones, shutting Olympics websites and preventing spectators from attending the opening ceremony.

Security experts labeled the attack Sour Grapes for its spiteful nature.

“If you were under the impression that, after 2016, they hung it up and gave up their aggressive behavior, the fact they hacked the Olympics should disabuse you of that notion,” said John Hultquist, the director of threat intelligence at FireEye, a Silicon Valley cybersecurity firm. “It was a vindictive attack. There was no clear geopolitical reason to do that. And it impacted the entire international community.”

Experts had initially blamed North Korea for the attack but later determined that the G.R.U. used North Korean hacking tools to throw off investigators.

As the Justice Department unsealed the indictment on Monday, British officials also revealed new details of a similar Russian plot to disrupt the Tokyo Olympics that had been scheduled for this summer but were postponed until 2021 because of the coronavirus. Britain's foreign secretary, Dominic Raab, condemned the attacks as “cynical and reckless.”

The allegations threatened to undermine Russia's efforts to lift a four-year ban from international sports, including the Olympics, at Court of Arbitration for Sport, which has yet to rule on the matter. The I.O.C. did not respond to a request for comment.

The Justice Department indictment said the suspects were also responsible for developing malware used in attacks on Ukraine's power grid. The first, on Dec. 23, 2015, infiltrated Ukrainian energy companies, cutting power for hours to more than 200,000 residents in the country's west.

In a follow-up in late 2016 that targeted the power grid in Kyiv, Ukraine, the suspects used a second piece of malware, called Indusstroy, to cut electricity for an hour, the indictment said. The malware, according to experts, posed one of the greatest digital threats to critical infrastructure since Stuxnet, the computer attack by the United States and Israel that took out Iran's uranium centrifuges in 2009.

The suspects were also accused of carrying out an attack in June 2017 that is considered the most costly in history. Called NotPetya, it was originally aimed at Ukraine but quickly boomeranged around the world, paralyzing some of the biggest corporations in Europe and the United States at an estimated total cost of \$10 billion. It cost Mondelez, the maker of Oreo cookies and Ritz crackers, more than \$100 million; Merck, the pharmaceutical giant, some \$700 million in damages; it also impeded computer use at hospitals and medical facilities in western Pennsylvania.

In 2019, the same suspects took aim at the government of the country of Georgia, the indictment said. They defaced about

Suspicious point to a unit behind the theft of Democrats' emails.

15,000 websites and replaced many home pages with images of its former president, known for his efforts to counter Russian influence, alongside the caption “I'll be back,” an apparent bid to try to avoid detection.

At a news conference in Washington to announce the indictments, Mr. Demers, the Justice Department's top national security official, took direct aim at Mr. Putin, who made an unusual appeal for a cyber “reset” with the United States last month.

Mr. Demers said the indictments were “a cold reminder of why its proposal is nothing more than dishonest rhetoric and cynical and cheap propaganda.”

He also took a dig in a news release at Mr. Putin's claims that he is restoring Russia to greatness. “No nation,” Mr. Demers said, “will recapture greatness while behaving in this way.”



VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY, VIA AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

ing a meal together,” he told the news outlet.

Rapid development and deforestation have exacerbated the damage caused by seasonal flooding. Floods in 2018 killed more than 20 people and destroyed hundreds of homes.

“Vietnam has the perfect storm,” Adam Switzer, a sedimentologist at the Earth Observatory

Officials Kill Wild Boars Near Vatican, Inciting Furor

By GAIA PIANIGIANI

Wild boars are a menace in Rome, strewing garbage around the city, blocking traffic and causing numerous car accidents. Residents have been demanding action — but not this.

Animal rights activists and many Romans are expressing outrage after the authorities killed a sow and her six piglets on a playground near the Vatican, only hours after families and children had been there, feeding the boars. They say the animals should have been safely captured and transported to the wild.

“It was a mother with her little ones — just emotionally, this is terrible,” said Andrea Brutti, who is the chief official for wild fauna at Italy's National Board for Animal Protection.

Some people have a fondness for the animals, but wild boars are far from harmless. They can be aggressive and dangerous, and are a growing presence in Rome, drawn by the uncollected trash that plagues the city.

From the city's central streets to the outlying arteries that border parks and woods, boars have become a major driving hazard. The threat is not limited to Rome — this month, two ex-professional soccer players died when their car hit some wild boars crossing a highway in northern Italy.

Boars are a point of contention throughout the country. Hunters have argued that the perpetually hungry animals are nuisances that have bred out of control and need to be culled to save the country's agriculture.

Activists argue that hunters have worked to increase the number of wild boars, to enable more hunting. The fight has extended into politics, with representatives of the right-wing League party often siding with hunters.

But pretty much everyone agrees they have no place in the cities. Images of wild boars tearing into the garbage bags piled high around the city have become common in recent years. Last month, a family of them was filmed peacefully walking through the streets near St. Peter's Square.

Rome's boar troubles mirror the dilemmas faced by developed areas around the world, as they try to check populations of deer, geese, bears, coyotes, sea gulls or other creatures without running afoul of animal lovers. In many places, humans have eliminated the animals' natural predators or competitors, while inadvertently providing a food surplus for those that remain.

The city, the region, residents and animal rights advocates have argued for years over what to do about Rome's boar problem, without finding a solution. The advocates say parks on the outskirts of the city should be fenced to contain the animals, and that roads should be equipped with alarm systems, but no one wants to pay the bill.

The porcine family at the center of the latest uproar had roamed the streets near the Vatican for days, troubling some residents and delighting others. They ended up in the playground — some say the police entrapped them — last Thursday, and children started feeding them anything handy.

Then, late Friday night, the police made their move. While neighbors shouted “cowards” and explosives from their windows, officers shot the boars with tranquilizer darts, and then veterinarians gave them lethal injections.

Videos and photos of the scene spread across Rome. A member of Parliament and founder of an association for animal rights accused the city of the killing.

“It was a gratuitous barbarity,” Michela Vittoria Brambilla said in a video posted on social media. “Residents were standing around the park watching the massacre.”

Rome's mayor, Virginia Raggi, ordered an investigation. A city official who was involved, Daniele Diaco, said he was receiving death threats as a result of the incident. The city, run by the anti-establishment Five Star Movement, and the government of the Lazio region, run by the Democratic Party, have blamed each other.

But regional officials, who had trouble finding the cages needed to trap and transport the boars, said they made the decision to euthanize the animals in consultation with the city officials.

Later that day, a national animal welfare group offered its services, saying it could capture the boars and move them to a nature preserve. The Lazio regional council member responsible for the environment says she agreed and called off the killing, asking a city official to pass the word to the police force.

The message never reached the officers at the playground. The boars were killed and loaded onto a truck for disposal.

“In the end, animals like people are victims of bad politics,” Mr. Brutti said.

Landslide in Central Vietnam Kills at Least 20 Soldiers

By LIVIA ALBECK-RIPKA

A landslide in Vietnam on Sunday killed at least 20 military personnel and left two missing, the local news media reported, following weeks of torrential rains and flooding that have devastated parts of the country and killed dozens of people.

The mudslide began in the early hours of Sunday morning and leveled the soldiers' barracks in Huong Phung Commune, in the central coastal province of Quang Tri.

“There have been four to five landslides, exploding like bombs, and it feels like the whole mountain is about to collapse,” Ha Ngoc Duong, the vice chairman of the commune, told VnExpress, an online state-run news outlet.

Chau Doan contributed reporting.

Mr. Duong added that the mudslides were likely to continue, hindering search-and-rescue efforts.

The deaths could be the country's largest military loss in peacetime, officials said, and came just days after another landslide killed 13 people, most of whom were also members of the military, in neighboring Thua Thien Hue.

“We've never lost so many military members, including two generals and high-ranking officials, in natural disasters,” the government said in a statement.

Pham Tan An, a survivor of the Sunday mudslide, told VnExpress he felt “completely powerless” after seeing his colleagues buried beneath the rubble.

“For us who were lucky enough to survive, it's really heartbreaking to know our 22 teammates didn't make it. Now, when closing my eyes, all I can think of is us enjoy-

of Singapore, said of Vietnam's susceptibility to flooding and landslides. “It has seas, rainfall, it has very heavily vegetated steep slopes, and it has seismic activity.”

Extreme downpours have pummeled Vietnam since early October, causing some of the worst flooding in years. More severe rain is expected this week.

In Quang Tri Province alone,

Vietnamese military personnel retrieving a body on Sunday in Quang Tri Province, where dozens are dead or missing.

close to 50 people are dead or missing. More than 12,000 residents have been evacuated because of the floods, which have inundated nearly 45,000 homes, the state news media reported.

Seventy schools have also been submerged beneath the floodwaters in areas along the Thach Han River in Quang Tri, according to the government newspaper VGP News.

So far, the floods have cost Vietnam around \$520,000, Vo Van Hung, the chairman of the Quang Tri People's Committee, told the paper.

“We need to understand why this happened,” said Mr. Switzer, the sedimentologist, who warned that effects of climate change could cause similarly devastating floods in the future, “so that when the next landslide happens, we are better prepared.”

Grief, Rage and Arrests Across France After Teacher Is Beheaded

From Page A1

mains traumatized by terrorists attacks by Muslim extremists that killed scores in 2015, starting with the editorial offices of the satirical Charlie Hebdo magazine — whose cartoons the teacher had shown.

As much as the Charlie Hebdo killings, the beheading of Mr. Paty has struck deep inside the French psyche as an assault on a principal pillar of the French republic — the secular public school system — as well as the nation's devotion to freedom of speech.

Thousands of people took to the streets in cities around France over the weekend to demonstrate their horror at the killing on Friday. And politicians, especially on the right, jostled to sound the alarm against “the enemy within,” as the hard-line interior minister, Gérard Darmanin, put it in a radio interview, referring to so-called radicalized Muslims.

Some voices were raised against the breadth of the government's raids, but in general the tone was set by President Emmanuel Macron's likely principal challenger in 2022, the far right leader Marine Le Pen, whose party has targeted Muslims and immigrants for nearly 50 years.

“This situation calls for a strategy of reconquest,” Ms. Le Pen said Monday. “Islamism is a bellicose ideology whose means of conquest is terrorism.”

Even before the attack on Mr. Paty, Mr. Macron, looking to consolidate a right-leaning electorate that is his only solid base heading into the 2022 election, had embarked on a campaign against what he called “Islamist separatism” in a speech earlier this month.

The speech reinforced the idea, current on France's right, that there is a large and hostile Muslim contingent waiting in the wings — the country's suburbs — to tear down French values. Mr. Macron vowed to end home-schooling as well as the practice of bringing in foreign imams.

On Monday, the police began their work at 6 in the morning, going after “numerous” Muslims in multiple raids, Mr. Darmanin said. “Important police operations have been carried out starting this morning, targeting radicalized individuals,” Mr. Macron's prime minister, Jean Castex, said in a speech Monday.

“Other actions will follow,” Mr. Castex promised, against “net-



DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The killing of a teacher over cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad struck many in France as an assault on secular education.

works and individuals who are attacking our basic values and the Republican ideal.”

Some 51 Muslim aid organizations will also be targeted by the police this week, the interior minister said, some of which would be dissolved at Mr. Macron's request. Mr. Darmanin called the most prominent of them, Collective Against Islamophobia, the C.C.I.F., which compiles a register of anti-Muslim acts, “an enemy of the republic.”

Its former president, Marwan Muhammad, one of the most prominent of France's Muslim activists, said the C.C.I.F. “didn't have the slightest involvement” in the killing of Mr. Paty.

Already, 15 people have been arrested, including family members of the suspect, an 18-year-old Chechen refugee named Abdul-lakh Anzorov, who was shot dead by the police Friday night after the killing. Also in custody is the father of a student at the school who had denounced Mr. Paty online for showing the caricatures and had demanded his dismissal. The video circulated widely on social media.

The interior minister announced that it would expel 231 foreign citizens identified for their radicalism, including 180 who were already in prison. Those not imprisoned would soon be arrested, officials said. At times, the French government has expelled foreign Muslims it accuses of being radicalized. But a mass expulsion like the one currently envisioned is unusual.

By day's end it was not clear how many arrests had resulted from the police raids. Some of the country's prominent Muslim preachers defended the government's actions. “When the war has already been declared, what you need is a wartime government,” said Hassen Chalghoumi, president of the French Imams' Congress.

But a few Muslim scholars raised questions — not just about the raids, but also about Mr. Paty's use of the Muhammad caricatures in class.

On Monday's raids, some said politics appeared to be winning out over good sense. “I'm afraid that there has been a rush into a certain number of decisions,” said

Rachid Benzine, a political scientist. “It's, ‘We're going to do these raids’ — and then they have nothing to do with the actual investigation. It seems like these are punitive expeditions, kind of score-settling.”

“And of course there's a risk that the courts will eventually reject all of this,” Mr. Benzine added.

Mr. Macron will deliver a eulogy to Mr. Paty on Wednesday at the Sorbonne. He has already been hailed as a martyr of the French Republic. The emotion of thousands who turned out for him across France was real. A huge gathering at the Place de la Republique in Paris recalled the ones held after the attacks of 2015.

But a few wondered about what had transpired in Mr. Paty's class.

“I feel like it's very hard to use these cartoons for strictly educational purposes,” said Farhad Khosrokhavar, a sociologist at the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, EHESS, in Paris.

“Secularists think that it is their right, because of the law that allows blasphemy and any form of mockery of religion. But on the

other hand, there is the feeling that in doing so, it is the Muslims who are despised, not the prophet,” he said.

“By using cartoons to teach freedom of expression, we do not understand that we offend people,” Mr. Khosrokhavar said. “There are a thousand ways to express freedom of expression, so why choose this one?”

Françoise Lorcerie, an education expert at the National Center for Scientific Research, said she had never heard of using the caricatures of the prophet in a classroom setting. And she was critical of Mr. Paty's invitation to Muslim students that they leave the class to avoid being offended.

“Obviously these caricatures are wounding for Muslims,” said Ms. Lorcerie. “I'm not so sure about presenting these caricatures, without some sort of justification,” she said.

From the standpoint of the absolute value of secularism, “it doesn't conform to his obligation to be neutral,” Ms. Lorcerie said. “There should be a reflection on all of this.”

U.K. Inmate Nears Pardon For Curbing Terror Attack

By ISABELLA KWAI

LONDON — Queen Elizabeth II has approved a rare royal pardon for an inmate convicted of murder who used a narwhal tusk to help stop a terrorist attack in which two people were killed before the assailant was killed by the police on London Bridge.

The decision to pardon the murderer, Steven Gallant, was in recognition of “his exceptionally brave actions,” which “helped save people's lives despite the tremendous risk to his own,” a spokeswoman for the Ministry of Justice said in a statement on Monday. If a parole board approves, Mr. Gallant's minimum 17-year sentence would be reduced by 10 months.

The attack in November 2019 began at a prisoner rehabilitation conference when a former inmate in attendance stabbed and killed two young rehabilitation advocates, Jack Merritt and Saskia Jones, and fled before eventually being subdued on London Bridge. Three others were also injured before the assailant, Usman Khan, 28, was fatally shot by police. Mr. Khan had served eight years for a terrorism-related offense but had been released in December 2018.

Mr. Gallant, who was imprisoned in 2005, was among a crowd of people who banded together to take the assailant down with an unconventional weapon: the narwhal tusk, which had been a wall decoration at Fishmongers' Hall,

A rare royal pass for a man who used a tusk to confront a killer.

the historic building that hosted the conference. He was in the hall for the day on a prison day-release program when he heard noises and saw injured people.

He found Mr. Khan holding two large knives and wearing a fake bomb around his waist. “He was a clear danger to all, so I didn't hesitate,” Mr. Gallant said, in a statement in January.

He used a chair and the tusk, passed to him by a civil servant, to confront the attacker, chasing him onto London Bridge and helping restrain him before police officers arrived. Male narwhals, a species of whale, have a single straight tusk that can grow up to nine feet long; this one was about five feet.

The pardon was welcome news, his lawyer, Neil Hudgell, said, adding that Mr. Gallant hoped to be a “positive example” to others after turning around his life in prison. “He is passionate about using his knowledge and experiences to help others steer away from crime,” he said. Mr. Gallant will be eligible for parole in June, though a parole board will have the final say on whether he can be released early.

He was convicted along with another man in 2005 of murdering Barrie Jackson, a firefighter in the coastal city of Hull. Mr. Jackson's son said he had “mixed emotions about his release,” reported The Daily Mirror. “But what happened at London Bridge goes to show the reality that people can change.”

Mr. Gallant has apologized to Mr. Jackson's family and said he accepted his punishment. “Nobody has the right to take another's life,” he said in the January statement, adding he had vowed to better himself and “never to turn to violence again.”

The father of one of the two victims of the terrorist attack, David Merritt, told The Daily Mirror that the pardon was “fully” deserved. He had turned his life around in prison, Mr. Merritt said, and was close to his son. Mr. Gallant has called Jack Merritt a role model and a friend.

The queen can exercise a “royal prerogative of mercy,” which reduces the penalty for a criminal offense, but rarely does so. Pardons for early release are generally recommended by officials in exceptional situations, such as if a prisoner risks his safety to prevent death or serious injury to another.

Though the queen signs off on the royal pardon, the decision is ultimately in the hands of the government — in this case the Ministry of Justice — said Dickie Arbiter, a former Buckingham Palace spokesman. “By the time it gets to her, it's a done deal,” he said. “She just rubber-stamps it.”

Though he was not privy to the decision-making, Mr. Arbiter said that Mr. Gallant had risked his own life while out of prison for the day to protect others, which was likely to have helped his case. “He could have just walked away and ignored it, but he didn't.”

Pardons for those convicted of murder are highly unusual. Before Mr. Gallant, the last significant pardon for murder was given to Sean O'Callaghan, a paramilitary member of the Irish Republican Army who was freed in 1996.

U.S. Imposes Sanctions on Qaeda Financier Who Trades in Gems

By PRANSHU VERMA

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration on Monday imposed sanctions on an Australian-based businessman and his gemstone company for helping Al Qaeda move money across the globe to sustain its operations.

Treasury officials said Ahmed Lugman Talib traded in precious stones, allowing him to “move funds internationally” for Al Qaeda. Mr. Talib's business is based in Melbourne, but he works around the world, including in Brazil, Colombia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Turkey and the Persian Gulf region, the Treasury Department said in a statement.

Terrorist groups continue to use financial facilitators to help carry out their activities, Treasury Secretary Steven T. Mnuchin said in a statement. The department remained committed to disrupting those financial activities and net-

works, he added, expressing appreciation for “the collaboration with our Australian partners.”

The effects of the sanctions on Mr. Talib are unclear. The measure freezes assets he holds in the United States and prohibits American companies or individuals from doing business with him.

Treasury officials did not disclose whether Mr. Talib held assets or property in the United States. In 2010, he was a student activist in Australia who was shot when Israeli naval commandos killed nine activists on a ship that was carrying aid to Gaza.

The American action against Mr. Talib was notable, experts said, because it showed that the government was still concerned about how extremist groups like Al Qaeda and the Islamic State continue to creatively raise and distribute money for their operations, despite military, intelligence and legal pressures that

have dealt significant blows to their activity.

“It goes to show that Al Qaeda still retains these kind of networks,” said Charles Lister, the director of the Countering Terrorism and Extremism Program at

An Australia-based operation that does business worldwide.

the Middle East Institute, a think tank. “Even though the U.S. has done a very good job in pressuring the networks to such an extent that they are kind of a miniature version of 10 or 15 years ago.”

Mr. Talib's use of gemstones to move finances for Al Qaeda was a departure from what had become

a norm in terrorist financing, experts said, which was to stray from transnational funding toward developing income streams in countries where they maintained a presence. But terrorism experts noted the development with interest.

“Governments and private sector have made it harder to move funds via formal and informal financial systems,” said Matthew Levitt, the director of counterterrorism and intelligence at The Washington Institute. “It is interesting to see terrorists relying on gemstones, which are easy to move and hold value.”

Since the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, Al Qaeda's influence across the world has diminished. Key leaders, including Osama bin Laden, have been killed. The group's lone ideological leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, is aging, and U.S. intelligence experts do not see him as a potent threat.

Despite that, the group continues to find inventive ways to finance its operations.

In August, the United States government seized about \$2 million in Bitcoin and other types of cryptocurrency from accounts that had sent or received funds in alleged financing schemes for three foreign terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda.

Other groups, like the Islamic State, have also found ways to rely on methods such as kidnapping for ransom, private donations and crowdsourced online fund-raising, according to a United Nations report. ISIS currently has financial reserves estimated at nearly \$100 million, the U.N. found.

“ISIS taught us in recent years that international financing of terrorist activities isn't the most sustainable way to go,” Mr. Lister said. “That was a big lesson, and it definitely transformed the way Al Qaeda operates.”

Event Canceled in Abu Dhabi After Claim of Sexual Assault

By MEGAN SPECIA

LONDON — The Hay Festival, an annual staple of Britain's literary calendar, announced on Monday that an offshoot event to promote freedom of speech and women's empowerment would no longer be held in Abu Dhabi after one of its employees accused the United Arab Emirates' minister of tolerance of sexual assault.

In an article published by The Sunday Times of London over the weekend, the employee, Caitlin McNamara, 32, said that the minister, Sheikh Nahyan bin Mubarak al-Nahyan, who is also a member of Abu Dhabi's ruling family, assaulted her in February.

In a statement issued later on Sunday, the festival said it would not hold the Abu Dhabi event as long as Sheikh al-Nahyan remained in the position.

Caroline Michel, chair of the Hay Festival board, called the alleged attack “an appalling violation and a hideous abuse of trust and position.”

“Sheikh Nahyan bin Mubarak al-Nahyan made a mockery of his ministerial responsibilities and tragically undermined his government's attempt to work with Hay Festival to promote free speech

and female empowerment,” she said in the statement.

Sheikh al-Nahyan has denied the accusations, in a statement issued through his lawyers at the Schillings law firm in London.

“Our client is surprised and saddened by this allegation, which arrives eight months after the alleged incident and via a national newspaper,” the law firm said. “The account is denied.”

The event, a collaboration between the U.A.E. Ministry of Tolerance and the Hay Festival, brought together internationally acclaimed authors and thinkers in Abu Dhabi over four days in February.

The festival organizers have defended their decision to go ahead with the 2020 event, even though the festival's leadership was aware of Ms. McNamara's allegations before hand.

Ms. McNamara, who was hired by the Hay Festival to organize its first event in the U.A.E., spent six months working from the Ministry of Tolerance, which was created as “a bridge of communication between peoples of different cultures in a respectful environment that rejects extremism and emphasis on the acceptance of the other,” according to a gov-



KAMRAN JEBREIL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ernment website.

She said that Sheikh al-Nahyan invited her to a private dinner at an exclusive resort on Feb. 14, days before the festival, where he attacked her.

She reported the events to the British Embassy in Abu Dhabi shortly after the alleged assault, according to The Sunday Times, and she has since been interviewed by Scotland Yard in Britain. The newspaper reported that Ms. McNamara was waiting to hear whether legal action can be taken against Sheikh al-Nahyan in Britain.

She told the news outlet she had gone public with the story because she wanted to see him held accountable and because of the

“massive mental and physical toll” the attack had taken on her.

“I feel I have nothing to lose,” she said. “I want to do this because I want to highlight the effect of powerful men like him doing things like that and thinking they can get away with it. It seemed clear from the set up I was not the first or last.”

Attempts to reach Ms. McNamara were not immediately successful. The festival has grown from its roots as a literary gathering in Hay-on-Wye, Wales, to hosting several international gatherings. The event in February was its first in Abu Dhabi.

But even before the sexual assault accusations, it had drawn controversy. Dozens of rights

Sheikh Nahyan bin Mubarak al-Nahyan, the U.A.E.'s minister of tolerance, denied a Hay Festival employee's accusation.

groups and prominent writers issued an open letter to festival organizers before it started, denouncing the United Arab Emirates' rights record and calling for freedom of speech to be upheld.

The event, billed as a platform for freedom of expression, seemed directly at odds with the country's arbitrary detention of government critics and jailing of those who voice dissent, the critics said.

The letter called the festival an opportunity for the country “to back up its promise of tolerance with actions that include the courageous contributors to freedom of expression who live in the country.”

The United Arab Emirates has long been criticized for its suppression of political dissent, and limited protections for women under the leadership of the de facto ruler, Prince Mohammed bin Zayed.

“Despite declaring 2019 the ‘Year of Tolerance,’ United Arab Emirates rulers showed no tolerance for any manner of peaceful dissent,” the international monitoring group Human Rights Watch wrote in its annual world report assessing the rights situation in countries around the world.

A Voting Readiness Report From 7 Battleground States

By NICK CORASANITI and REID J. EPSTEIN

In Georgia, the state's voting machines have malfunctioned in three consecutive elections this year alone. In Pennsylvania, election officials are staring down possibly the biggest ballot processing backlog in the country, with no means of even touching the ballots until polls open on Election Day. And in North Carolina, thousands of submitted absentee ballots are currently in purgatory, neither rejected nor accepted but "under review," amid a back-and-forth court battle over so-called ballot curing.

Short on money, overworked and under enormous pressure, many battleground states are still in the process of standing up their electoral systems, a building-a-plane-midflight reality for a democratic process that is being challenged daily by court cases, new laws and surges in the coronavirus.

The New York Times assessed the readiness of seven battleground states, and will continue to do so up to Nov. 3. Each of these states was won by Donald J. Trump in 2016; Joseph R. Biden Jr. is now ahead or effectively tied with Mr. Trump in most polls in all seven.

After spring and summer primary elections that were undermined by a host of issues — ballot delays in the mail, polling location consolidation resulting in long lines, voter confusion and lengthy lags in counting — officials have mounted a fall sprint to recruit poll workers, scout safe poll locations, seek more time to process ballots, and start a significant education campaign to help voters navigate the pandemic-muddled process.

Now, the readiness of states chiefly involves two distinct challenges: processing the tens of millions of absentee ballots that are already flooding election offices, and maintaining an Election Day operation that as closely as possible resembles normalcy.

Here's where the seven states stand with just 15 days before Election Day, ranked in order of preparedness.

Patricia Mazzei contributed reporting.

1. Arizona

Of all the battleground states, none is expected to have as smooth an election as is Arizona. In the midterm elections in 2018, 79 percent of Arizonans voted before Election Day — a figure that jumped to 88 percent for the primary this past August. After 2018, when it took a week for Arizona to count enough ballots for a winner to be declared in its Senate race, the state changed its laws to allow absentee ballots to be counted beginning 14 days before Election Day. Maricopa County, which includes 60 percent of Arizona's population, acquired new ballot-counting machines that officials expect will allow the vast majority of the

voting results to be known on election night. "I somewhat jokingly say that we are prepared for everything except Godzilla," said Adrian Fontes, the Maricopa County recorder, who is responsible for running the county's elections. "Nowadays that includes a global pandemic and possible terrorism." Mr. Fontes and other Arizona officials have more experience with absentee ballots than any other battleground state in the country. Arizona created a permanent absentee voter list in 2007, and by 2010, 60 percent of the state's voters cast ballots before Election Day, a figure that has increased every two years since.



Early voting in Mesa, Ariz. The state created a permanent absentee voter list in 2007, and by 2010, 60 percent of voters cast ballots before Election Day.

3. Wisconsin

In the last decade, Wisconsin Republicans enacted laws that have made voting tougher: • It now has one of the nation's strictest voter-identification mandates. Voters who apply for an absentee ballot online or through the mail must include a photograph for their identification, which requires both equipment and technical sophistication. • They also must have a witness sign their ballots, a hurdle made more difficult by a pandemic that is hitting Wisconsin nearly as hard as anywhere in the country. Some Wisconsinites have taken it upon themselves to help their neighbors navigate the absentee voting process. Lori Miller, a retired dietitian from rural Arkansas, spent \$59 on eBay for a portable photocopy machine to tote to tables set up this summer by the League of Women Voters so she could make copies of people's driver's licenses for them to include in absentee

ballot applications. "What used to be a fairly simple process now has new steps to it," Ms. Miller said. "With every election, and especially this year, there have been proposals made to change deadlines and then those get challenged and changed and appealed. People lose track." Unlike most states, Wisconsin does not have a single office responsible for voting statewide, nor do county officials oversee elections. Instead, more than 1,800 municipalities manage their own elections. In scores of rural townships, a part-time town clerk is responsible for conducting elections and counting the votes. The municipal clerks are forbidden to feed the ballots through counting machines until the polls open on Nov. 3. But Gov. Tony Evers said on Thursday that he expected the state to have its results completed by the end of Election Day or, at the latest, by the day after.

2. Michigan

Michigan has had a successful poll worker recruitment program, with more than 30,000 having signed up and no regional restrictions preventing them from going anywhere in the state. That same pool of workers could also be asked to serve on the counting boards, which are the election workers assigned to sift through, verify and tally the absentee ballots. While thousands will be needed for the task, which Michigan law allows to start only 10 hours before Election Day, the secretary of state's office is confident that staffing will not be a problem. Because of that late start to counting, Michigan anticipates being one of the last states to report full results, with election officials estimating that this is

unlikely to happen before Friday, Nov. 6. An appeals court ruled on Friday that ballots must be received by 8 p.m. on Election Day, though it is possible the decision is appealed to the State Supreme Court. The secretary of state's office has begun a voter education campaign as if it has lost the decision in court, telling voters that the last day to safely mail back their ballots is Oct. 19. After that, they should be hand delivered to an election office or one of the state's 1,000 drop boxes. Also weighing on the minds of election officials is the threat of polling place intimidation. On Friday, the secretary of state in Michigan issued an order banning firearms at polling places and any areas within 100 feet of a voting center.

4. Florida

On Sept. 30, Peter Antonacci, the elections supervisor in Broward County, was scrambling: The vendor his office had hired to pick up and drop off voting equipment to the polls had canceled the county's order, leaving Broward hunting for trucks 34 days before Election Day. It was one of the myriad challenges faced daily by the 67 county supervisors in Florida, who run elections in the nation's largest and often closest presidential battleground. Winning by "1.5 percent in the state of Florida is a landslide," said Wesley Wilcox, the elections supervisor in Marion County. The supervisors say they are ready to handle problems small and large. Of utmost concern is the crush of mail ballots already arriving. More than 2.5 million ballots had been returned as of



Mail-in ballots last week in Largo, Fla. Florida has years of experience with voting by mail.

Monday afternoon, led by a stunning return rate from Democrats, who are typically outpaced by Republicans in mail voting. So far, 470,000 more Democrats have returned absentee ballots than Republicans, though Republicans are expected to turn out en masse to vote in person. Florida has years of experience with voting by mail — an effort led largely by Republicans — which should mean the state is better positioned to deal with this year's surge. State law allows counties to start processing mail ballots 22 days before Election Day. An executive order signed during the pandemic by Gov. Ron DeSantis, a Republican, allowed for the processing to begin even sooner: 30 days before Election Day once counties had conducted public tests of their voting equipment.

Supervisors in the state's largest counties say their goal is to process the ballots — remove them from the envelopes, verify signatures and tabulate the vote — on the day they arrive, to avoid a backup building up as Election Day nears. That would leave only the mail ballots that arrive on Nov. 3 to be processed that day. "Our focus is getting it right," said Mark Earley, the elections supervisor in Leon County, home to Tallahassee, the state capital. "Not getting it done as fast as possible."

5. North Carolina

Election officials in North Carolina were increasingly confident in the state's electoral apparatus earlier in the fall, with no reported poll worker shortages in any county and more than 500,000 absentee ballots already returned and being processed. But a forthcoming court decision threatens to disrupt the elections. The state Republican Party is pushing to be allowed to send partisan citizen inspectors into the county boards of elections before absentee ballots are approved by election officials, with the ability to start challenging those ballots that they see as potentially not meeting requirements. If the court sides with the Republicans, it could delay the counting of absentee ballots to well beyond Election Day. And with officials estimating that roughly 25 percent of the vote in North Carolina will be cast through absentee ballots, a lengthy delay would most likely mean no statewide results in the presidential election or the contested Senate race for days, if not weeks. A second case, one that had left at least 7,000 absentee ballots with potential issues in limbo, progressed on Monday, when the North Carolina Board of Elections instructed election officials to begin the "curing" process, which is when voters are contacted and allowed to address issues with their absentee ballots.

The process had been on hold for weeks thanks to multiple lawsuits, leaving thousands of ballots — roughly 40 percent of which belonged to Black voters statewide — in a "pending review" queue and voters unaware of whether their ballots would be counted. But on Monday, the board of elections released guidance stating that voters who did not sign their voter certification, who signed in the wrong place or who have errors in their witness information will be allowed to correct their ballots. Those ballots missing a witness signature or whose envelopes arrived unsealed will be considered spoiled, and election officials will have to mail new ballots to the voter. Voting rights experts had expressed alarm about the delay, citing concerns about whether voters whose ballots had been rejected because of correctable errors would have enough time to request a new ballot and return it before Election Day. "The longer a voter says, 'Oh I turned in my ballot, it must be good,' when they do finally hear from the county, they might be more suspicious about it, considering how much disinformation there is going around," said Sylvia Albert, director of voting and elections at Common Cause, a voting rights group.

6. Georgia

No state had a worse voting experience in the 2020 election primaries than Georgia. Absentee ballots either failed to arrive on time or showed up damaged. Poll workers, scared by the virus, bailed at the last minute, forcing the consolidation of thousands of voters into a single location in Midtown Atlanta. Lines stretched for hours, with some voters not able to cast ballots until nearly 1 a.m. And sometimes the state's new voting machines malfunctioned. When Georgia's in-person early voting began last Monday, voters and elections officials braced for a repeat. Lines

stretched for hours in suburban Gwinnett County, a predicament the Republican secretary of state, Brad Raffensperger, initially attributed to high turnout but later admitted was because of technical difficulties. As wait times fell, Mr. Raffensperger's office took credit, saying it had requested the state's elections software vendor increase bandwidth to its devices. By Monday, more than 1.48 million Georgians had voted, a figure that accounts for 36 percent of the state's 2016 turnout. Lines on Friday still stretched for up to three hours at some locations in Cobb County, a

rapidly diversifying suburb that backed Hillary Clinton in 2016 but is still run by Republican officials. In Fulton County, which experienced the worst delays during the June primary, wait times have largely been alleviated by opening Atlanta's pro basketball arena as a mega early-voting site. With more than 300 voting machines, the facility has managed to move voters through without a delay. Election Day, which will require far more poll workers given the larger number of voting locations, will present another stress test for the state's voting system.



Early voters lined up last week in Suwanee, Ga. By Sunday, more than 1.4 million Georgians had voted, some waiting hours.

7. Pennsylvania

Few states are still facing more litigation-driven uncertainty than Pennsylvania. The state has had its plans to install drop boxes hung up in the courts for months; the question of whether it will be able to accept ballots that arrive after Election Day has been similarly stalled. The state legislature still hasn't decided on allowing election officials to begin processing ballots early. And Kathy Boockvar, the secretary of state, is still awaiting guidance from the state

Supreme Court as to whether election officials have to perform signature matching checks on absentee ballots. "Pennsylvania is the one everyone is worried about," said Charles Stewart III, a professor of political science at M.I.T. who runs the university's Election Data and Science Lab. While all of this uncertainty might seemingly depress enthusiasm for mail ballots, Pennsylvania voters are still requesting them at a record clip. More than

2.7 million ballots have been requested, and about 683,000 have been returned. Yet at the moment, election officials in the state's 67 counties cannot touch the ballots until Election Day. On Monday, Ms. Boockvar said in an interview with SpotlightPA that "the overwhelming majority" of votes would be counted by the Friday after Election Day. By law, Pennsylvania does not offer any form of in-person early voting. But Ms. Boockvar has worked with county officials to

set up satellite elections offices where voters can come and vote by absentee ballot in person (as in, request a ballot in person, receive it, fill it out there and then drop it off). The offices are intended to expand voting options and help decrease an expected surge on Election Day. But so far, only seven of the state's 67 counties — Philadelphia, Centre, Chester, Delaware, Allegheny, Bucks and Montgomery — have set up offices. The existing county election

offices, one per county, also offer voters the ability to vote by absentee ballot in person. Pennsylvania will most likely have a large Election Day turnout. Though the statewide poll worker recruitment effort was successful — more than 56,000 raised their hands — Pennsylvania has strict rules stating that a poll worker can serve only in the county in which they are registered to vote. Philadelphia is also bracing for a potentially contentious

Election Day, and Lawrence S. Krasner, the district attorney for Philadelphia, is expanding the regular Election Day task force. "We have probably at this point over 60 of our 300 attorneys who are volunteering to handle these duties on top of their other duties," Mr. Krasner said. "And it's my expectation, in light of the conversation I've had with the Philadelphia Police Department, that they are going to ramp that up for Election Day."

Behind in Polls, Republicans See a Silver Lining in Voter Registrations

By STEPHANIE SAUL

With President Trump trailing in public polls in nearly every major battleground state, Republicans are pointing to what they see as more promising data: Updated voter registration tallies show that Republicans have narrowed the gap with Democrats in three critical states.

As the presidential campaign heads into its final weeks, Republicans hope that gains in voter registration in the three states — Florida, North Carolina and Pennsylvania — and heavy turnout by those new party members might just be enough to propel Mr. Trump to a second term.

“The tremendous voter registration gain by the Republicans is the secret weapon that will make the difference for the Republicans in 2020,” said Dee Stewart, a Republican political consultant in North Carolina.

Overall, Democrats retain a lead in total registrations in those three states and hold a significant advantage in early turnout. Democrats also have picked up voters in Arizona, a state Mr. Trump won by 91,000 votes in 2016 but where Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic presidential nominee, now leads in the polls.

In New Hampshire, another battleground where public polls also show Mr. Biden in the lead, Democrats have overtaken Republicans in the registered voter count for the first time since 2010, now leading 332,000 to 310,000.

Voter registration numbers alone are not predictive about the outcome of races: Democrats had a surge in voter registrations in 2018, and went on to win the House of Representatives but lost some races in key states where they had an overall registration edge.

Democrats also led Republicans in voter registration in several key states in 2016 that they ended up losing. Party registrations are driven in some states by local and congressional races as much as the presidential race, too.

The Trump-Biden contest this fall may be driven less by incremental changes in registration than by who turns out to vote, and how much they want the president to have a second term or not. And the difference of a point or two in voter registration makes a difference only in a close race.

Analyzing voter registration — and how it might affect the outcome of the looming election — is also complicated by the fact that a number of states permit same-day voter registration.

In addition, at least six battle-

ground states — Georgia, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Texas and Wisconsin — do not break down voter registration by party, though Democrats point to some perceived gains there.

In Georgia, for example, of the 800,000 voters who have registered since 2018, 49 percent are people of color, according to the organization Fair Fight, which was founded by Stacey Abrams, a Democrat who narrowly lost the race for governor in the state in 2018.

“Those are Democratic-leaning voters,” Ms. Abrams said during an appearance last week with Jill Biden, Mr. Biden’s wife, in suburban Atlanta, where early-voting turnout is setting records.

In their optimism regarding the registration data, Republicans point first to Florida, the largest battleground state, which has 29 electoral votes.

Polls show Mr. Biden narrowly leading in the state, which Mr. Trump won by 113,000 votes in 2016, but Republicans say the increase in registered voters there has the potential to give the president an edge.

In data released last week by the Florida secretary of state’s office, Republicans had narrowed the registration chasm with Democrats to 134,000 out of 14.4 million voters — less than 1 percent. In 2016, when Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee, lost the state to Mr. Trump, Democrats held a 330,000-voter advantage.

Mac Stevenson, a Republican political consultant in Florida, said the increase in registration could be viewed only as a positive sign for Republicans.

“I think it augurs that there’s going to be increased Republican turnout, but you have to balance that against the fact that everyone’s turning out more,” Mr. Stevenson said, pointing out that Democrats have historically lagged in turnout.

Aubrey Jewett, a professor of political science at the University of Central Florida, said the registration numbers in Florida reflected a significant effort by Republicans.

“They have made it clear that, despite the pandemic, they were going to still knock on doors and register voters,” he said.

At the same time, Dr. Jewett said, Democratic voter registration was probably handicapped by a protracted court battle over whether felons would have to pay outstanding fines to restore their voting rights.

“I think Democrats were somewhat hopeful that there were go-



JUAN DIEGO REYES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Voting last week in Weaverville, N.C. Shifts in the state’s voter rolls could be good for Republicans.



EVE EDELHEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Election workers in Largo, Fla., a state where Republicans say data augurs well for the president.

ing to be more felons that regained voting rights and actually registered,” he said. “That ended up not being a huge boost.”

In Pennsylvania, a state that Mr. Trump won by less than a percentage point in 2016, Republicans also cite gains stemming from their get-out-the-vote efforts. Republicans went door to door and set up booths at gun shows and su-

permarkets despite the coronavirus crisis.

“We were plowing the fields and they weren’t out there,” said Christopher Nicholas, a longtime Republican political consultant in Pennsylvania. “The Democratic groups didn’t get back on the street until Labor Day. They were more skittish about it.”

Mr. Nicholas notes that, despite

the registration numbers, popular trends in the state benefit Democrats, adding that a growing number of people are registering to vote without declaring a party affiliation.

Recent figures from Pennsylvania elections officials show that Republicans have added 174,000 voters since 2016, while Democrats lost 31,000.

Democrats said they were focused on mobilizing existing voters rather than registering new ones, but they also pointed to data from TargetSmart, a Democratic polling firm, suggesting that newly registered voters in Pennsylvania were more likely to vote Democrat than Republican.

Brendan Welch, a spokesman for the Pennsylvania Democratic Party, said that Republicans’ gains could be traced to voters who were previously registered as Democrats but who had voted Republican for years, and cited Republican registration increases in counties that Mr. Trump carried in 2016.

“These are mostly the kind of folks who have been registered Democrats since the days of Jimmy Carter vs. Gerald Ford, but who have been voting Republican since the days of George Bush vs. Al Gore,” Mr. Welch said.

A similar dynamic may be at work in North Carolina, where Republicans have narrowed the gap in registrations.

Records show Democrats lost 136,000 voters since 2016 while Republicans gained 100,000, though Democrats still lead in overall registrations by 400,000, with 2.6 million Democrats and 2.2 million Republicans.

The Democrats’ overall loss in the state stems from a 2019 purge of inactive voters that disproportionately affected Democrats, said J. Michael Bitzer, a professor of political science at Catawba College in North Carolina. Some 235,000 Democrats and 146,000 Republicans were removed from the rolls.

Since 2016, Dr. Bitzer said, Democrats have shown gains by another metric: the number of newly registered voters in the state.

“The national narrative of simply taking the net numbers of registered Democrats and Republicans in this state belies the fact that among new registered voters, Democrats have, in total, held their own against Republicans,” he said.

Even so, in a state that Mr. Trump won by about 173,000 votes in 2016, every vote is important.

And Tim Wigginton, a spokesman for the North Carolina Republican Party, said the voter registration numbers were an overall plus for his party, particularly when combined with unaffiliated voters and registered Democrats who vote Republican in presidential races.

“I think it’s definitely a positive sign for Republicans,” Mr. Wigginton said.

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‘It really is the religion of Trump devotees.’

JOHN COWAN, a supporter of the president who ran unsuccessfully for a House seat this year.



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ALLISON FARRAND FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The conspiracy theory QAnon, with encouragement from the president, has moved from online message boards to political rallies and congressional campaigns.

Conspiracy Theory Creeps From Fringe Into the G.O.P.

From Page A1

of the real-world violence inspired by QAnon, which has prompted a pre-election crackdown by social media networks, with YouTube last week becoming the latest platform to attempt to stop its spread. But dozens of recent interviews in Georgia and other parts of the country offered insights into the pull of a movement that has migrated far beyond the confines of the internet and, much like the Tea Party before it, plays to the sense of grievance on which Mr. Trump’s political career was built.

People “feel left out,” said McKay Kyer, 24, the local Republicans’ vice chairman. QAnon, with its focus on criminal “elites,” helped them understand why. “It’s not about what we’re doing wrong — it’s the swamp.”

Mr. Kyer said he had looked into QAnon and was not sure what he believed. But many others interviewed said they believed in some or most of QAnon, and a significant portion of those who did not know the movement’s name were familiar with its themes, especially its talk of rampant child trafficking and devil worship among powerful elites.

Yet the movement is elastic, drawing on any number of well-worn tropes. Even people who explicitly dismissed QAnon as lunacy often volunteered similar conspiracy theories. There was talk of how the pandemic was an outright hoax or, at the very least, being wildly overblown. Many people repeated racist theories about former President Barack Obama or the anti-Semitic notion that the financier George Soros controls the political system.

“It’s a real undercurrent in the party,” said Jason Anavitarte, 42, a Republican running for the Georgia State Senate. “It’s QAnon; it’s other conspiracy theories. We hear them every day.”

Or as Michael Conley, 42, a Trump supporter and QAnon adherent from Hagerstown, Md., put it: “Everybody’s talking about it.”

Though there has been little public polling, there is growing anecdotal evidence that QAnon followers now make up a small but significant minority of Republicans. Adherents are running for Congress and flexing their political muscles at the state and local levels. The movement’s growth has picked up pace since the onset of the pandemic in March, and its potency is clear on social media — before Facebook banned QAnon content earlier this month, there were thousands of dedicated Facebook groups with millions of members.

The phenomenon can be seen at Trump rallies, where people wearing QAnon shirts and hats are commonplace; at one recent rally in Las Vegas, the parents of a toddler in a QAnon shirt gamely posed for pictures with stranger after stranger. It was on display outside Walter Reed National Military Medical Center, where QAnon adherents gathered to support Mr. Trump after he was hospitalized with the coronavirus. (Other QAnon adherents questioned whether the president had been hospitalized at all.)

Susan Cooper, 59, an insurance agent in nearby Calhoun, estimated that between 20 percent and 25 percent of her friends had bought into QAnon, though she had not. Others interviewed offered a similar assessment, and said it was a varied group — young and old, male and female, poor and prosperous, urban and rural.

“It’s the women that I talk to,” Ms. Cooper said. “These women are sharp ladies — these women are women out of Atlanta, out of California, and friends of mine that are literally all over the country because of the company that I work with — and they firmly believe this.”

Jennifer Medina contributed reporting from Las Vegas.



MICHAEL NAGLE

A QAnon flag at a Trump rally. The internet phenomenon pushes a false narrative about a criminal cabal controlling the government.

QAnon is spreading among evangelical Christians, too. The Biblical Recorder, a Southern Baptist newspaper in Cary, N.C., recently warned of its dangers. “Christians should reject the movement’s fanatical and dangerous messages,” wrote Seth Brown, the paper’s executive editor.

Many of the Republican Party’s leaders and powerful donors are similarly concerned, as are a great many voters. Yet few high-profile Republicans have spoken out, demonstrating the thin line they are trying to walk between the moderate voters they need to win over and the members of their base who adore Mr. Trump.

“It’s a pro-Trump movement; QAnon is not of the Republican Party,” said Dr. John Cowan, 45, a supporter of the president who ran in this year’s primary for a House seat representing north-west Georgia. “It leaves no room between the president and Republican ideals and philosophy.”

Dr. Cowan, a neurosurgeon, has seen up close the political impact of QAnon. He was trounced in the runoff by Marjorie Taylor Greene, 46, perhaps the most unabashed QAnon supporter running for Congress. She was caught on Facebook videos that surfaced earlier this year making offensive remarks about Black people, Jews and Muslims and openly courted the most extreme elements of the party’s base during her primary campaign, presenting herself as the most loyal Trump supporter in the race.

“It’s corrupting the debate in the Republican Party,” Dr. Cowan said of QAnon, “because you can’t separate yourself from the president in any way if you want to win.”

“It really is the religion of Trump devotees.”

‘God-Tier Genetics’

The prophet of QAnon is “Q,” a purported government insider with a high-level security clearance who began posting cryptic messages in 2017 about the deep state trying to destroy the president. Followers pore over and interpret the postings — known as “Q drops” — and a core belief is that an apocalyptic showdown will smash the child-trafficking cabal and transform America. They call the transformation the “Great Awakening.”

At the center of the myth is Mr.

Trump, often depicted as uniquely gifted with the abilities and fortitude needed to save America. The portrayal is taken straight out of his own playbook. From the moment he accepted the Republican nomination in 2016 and declared, “I alone can fix it,” to his claim earlier this month that catching the coronavirus was a “blessing from God” allowing him to stumble upon a miracle cure, the president has sought to present himself as a singular figure in history.

His most ardent supporters, especially QAnon believers, have amplified and further exaggerated his imagined powers. An entire cottage industry of online memes is devoted to photostopping the president into famous great-man images, like the iconic painting of George Washington crossing the Delaware. It can now be found online with a grinning Mr. Trump pasted over the face of America’s first president.

At other times, Mr. Trump is treated as something close to divine. After the president’s coronavirus diagnosis, a prominent QAnon promoter, Brenden Dille, told listeners of his radio show that Mr. Trump was blessed with “god-tier genetics.”

That same reverence was on display at Q Con Live!, a QAnon convention held in late August in Jacksonville, Fla. Much of the program was given over to extolling the accomplishments of Mr. Trump. The words “glory” and “glorious” came up often.

“He has been gifted with abilities to do things that nobody else would even attempt or could actu-

ally accomplish,” said David Martin, 58, a Navy veteran.

Mr. Martin, like most QAnon supporters, was certain the movement had the president’s support, a belief Mr. Trump and some of those around him appear to have encouraged well before his comments on Thursday night.

In August, the president described followers of QAnon — several of whom have been charged with murder, domestic terrorism and planned kidnapping — as “people that love our country.” His children and aides have shared social media posts related to the movement, their messaging becoming more explicit as Mr. Trump’s poll numbers have dropped. His former national security adviser Michael T. Flynn — a man seen in pro-Trump circles as a martyr unfairly persecuted in the Russia investigation — posted a video this summer of himself taking what is known as the QAnon digital soldier oath.

The messages have been taken up by people like Bob Cox, 62, a retired construction worker who lives in Aragon, a small town about an hour outside Atlanta. He had little doubt that the political elite was rife with pedophiles, and he knew how he would handle them.

“If people like that come in my neighborhood, I will shoot them,” he said. “I will absolutely do it.”

But he was banking on Mr. Trump to take care of the problem first.

“All this stuff is getting started through Soros,” Mr. Cox added. “He needs to be considered an en-

emy of the state, and Trump is on top of that. He knows.”

QAnon Country

They began streaming into the Republican Party office in Dalton — the self-described “Carpet Capital of the World,” a city of nearly 34,000 about an hour and a half from Atlanta — around dusk on a warm September day: husbands and wives, small groups of friends, young Republicans aspiring to careers in politics. They had come to see Marjorie Taylor Greene.

She is one of more than a dozen Republicans running for Congress who have signaled some degree of support for QAnon. Most are almost certain to be defeated in November, like Jo Rae Perkins, the long-shot Senate candidate in Oregon who posted a video in May declaring, “I stand with Q and the team,” and followed up in June with another video of herself taking the QAnon digital soldier oath. Others have a chance to win, including Lauren Boebert, who defeated a five-term Republican incumbent in a sprawling district in Colorado.

But it is Ms. Greene, alone among QAnon candidates, who is considered a near lock to win a seat in Congress, and her campaign has turned Georgia’s 14th Congressional District into a ground zero of sorts for the transformation of QAnon into a political movement. She is, after all, the candidate who called QAnon “a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to take this global cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles out.”

That might be a hindrance elsewhere, but not here. “In this district, it can have benefits,” said Mr. Kyer, the local party vice chairman.

Ms. Greene’s district, which stretches from the northern exurbs of Atlanta all the way to the Tennessee border, is overwhelmingly white and Republican. Mr. Trump won upward of 70 percent of the vote in most parts of the district in 2016. Incomes in many areas are far below the national average, and railing against immigrants and foreign manufacturing plays well here. So does QAnon.

“We’re all aware of that pedophilia stuff,” Mr. Kyer explained. “But it’s also about how they’ve — the elites, that is — “been getting us into wars, just abusing

power, taking advantage of the common middle-class people. It really hits home with a lot of people, whether they know all the details or not.”

If Mr. Kyer was unsure about what he believed, others at the meeting were far more certain. Among those who subscribed to QAnon — the crowd appeared to be split evenly between believers and nonbelievers — many said they had learned about the movement from social media, and they ran the gamut from young digital natives to retirees who spent their days on Facebook, staying connected with old friends and being bombarded by disinformation.

Greta Hollis, 63, was typical. Though she had always considered herself a Republican, she said, politics had never much interested her. She saw Washington as a place where everyone was hustling to make a buck, not trying to help ordinary people. Then Mr. Trump ran for president, and said he was doing it to help people like her. She believed him.

She used to think greed was the driving force in politics. “But how much money can somebody need?” Ms. Hollis said. “The more that greed and the money didn’t make sense, I knew there had to be something else.”

QAnon, she said, showed her what that was, and explained why Mr. Trump was facing so much resistance from Democrats and even some Republicans. “All the pedophilia, all that kind of thing, the politics are so deep into that, I believe that,” she said.

Then there were people like Ms. Putnam, the party chairwoman, who is in her 70s. She has served the local Republican Party in some capacity for most of the past 30 years. Her views, Ms. Putnam said, have evolved with the party, but she added, “I’ve always been a true conservative.”

She acknowledged that meant something different back when she was a girl. “There wouldn’t be that much difference between Dwight Eisenhower and any of the Democrats,” she said. “And even going back to John Kennedy, even though he was a Democrat and everyone knew that he was more liberal than the conservative Republican, still his political policies were not so drastically different.”

In her estimation, what changed was the proliferation of news sources on the internet — “people’s eyes began to be open to what was really happening” — and, most recently, Mr. Trump’s decision to run for president.

“Once he came down the escalator and announced his candidacy, people knew from the beginning he would be different,” Ms. Putnam said. “He couldn’t be bought; he doesn’t take his salary. So he can’t be manipulated or controlled by financial contributions. He’s his own man.”

She, too, was drawn to QAnon after seeing the resistance to Mr. Trump in Washington.

“People know there’s more going on than the public is aware of,” she said. “Donald Trump is trying to expose all of the corruption.”

Ms. Greene, for her part, does her best to play it straight, now that she is in a general election, facing a somewhat broader ideological array of voters. Her stump speech makes no mention of QAnon or shadowy suspicions, and there is little hint of the unhinged conspiracy theorist that she was portrayed as by her opponents in the primary.

A political novice who declined an interview request, Ms. Greene knows how to work a crowd like a veteran. She cracks jokes and dispenses with any trappings of formality. Most important, she leaves little doubt where she stands on Mr. Trump.

After getting up to speak in Dalton, the first thing she did was push aside the lectern and replace it with a cardboard cutout of the president.

“I just love this guy,” she said.

Loss of Black Family Reunions May Be Felt at the Ballot Box

By EVAN NICOLE BROWN

Bettie Griggs, a retiree in Los Angeles, was 12 years old and living in Louisiana when her mother received her first voter registration card in the mail. It was 1965. “I can still recall the joy that she had,” Ms. Griggs said. “I can recall seeing that the card was actually stamped ‘illiterate’ and thinking, ‘Oh my God, they stamped her card illiterate.’”

The long history of voter disenfranchisement in the United States is a central theme that guides Ms. Griggs’s family reunions, held every other year in Shreveport, La.

That is because in the African-American family tradition, reunions frequently act as opportunities for political organizing, with older generations emphasizing to younger family members the importance of registering to vote. Save the church, Black families have often lacked designated spaces — public, and wholly their own — where they can be immersed in community. Much like services on Sundays, reunions are rituals that give families an occasion to come together and share political wisdom and oral histories.

But many of these gatherings have been upended this year, even as an enormously consequential election unfolds and as large numbers of Americans have been shaken awake to confront a fuller picture of bigotry in their country. At a time when family reunions would have been a timely way to honor diaspora-wide histories of surviving racialized violence, the coronavirus, a disease that disproportionately affects Black Americans, has prevented many of them from happening.

This could have subtle but meaningful political implications, as Black Americans’ voting rights are increasingly under attack. An important channel for information on how to vote — historically harder to find in marginalized communities, and sometimes intentionally obscured from them — has been cut off.

“In key ways, the intersection of politics and the traditional Black family reunion kind of go hand in hand,” said Benson Cooke, a professor of counseling and psychology at the University of the District of Columbia and a former national president of the Association of Black Psychologists. “We had to overcome what had been broken in us. In other words, we had to find the type of space for the old to share cultural memories that aid in the cultural repair for our youth, enhancing a knowledge and awareness of who we are.”

In Ms. Griggs’s family, that has translated into an effort she leads called the Family Voting History Project. Informed by the sacrifices that previous generations of the family made to be able to exercise the right to vote, Ms. Griggs uses the family’s newsletter to record family history and mark progress in real time. This includes published interviews conducted between members of the family history team and relatives of all ages, who share their voting experiences and political views.

Darrell Sheppard, an 18-year-old member of the family — which calls itself the Gillyard-Johnson-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TARA PIXLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Voter disenfranchisement in the United States is a central theme of Bettie Griggs’s family reunions.

Mahoney family — credited his grandmother with helping him prepare to vote in his first presidential election this November.

“She made sure that I’d be voting this year in the first place, because she was advocating for me to go get a voter registration card around 17,” said Mr. Sheppard, who lives in St. Louis. He acknowledged that he and cousins around his age don’t discuss politics much, and said he appreciated that older members of his family had opened up the conversation.

“You’re more inclined to take their opinions,” he said, instead of relying on social media to decide which candidate to vote for.

Dr. Cooke said the historical and contemporary importance of Black family reunions lay in the fact that they model the African proverb: It takes a village to raise a child.

During the Great Migration at the start of the 20th century, many Black Americans fled the racial discrimination and poor economic conditions of the rural South, settling in the North and the West, in urban centers of industry like Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles.

While these migratory patterns signaled new horizons for Black economic mobility and safety, they also pulled families apart. As the “village” dispersed across the country, family reunions became an important way to remain connected — to one another, and to the ancestral home base.

For Black voters especially, using reunions as a vehicle to get more family members registered is the result of having to “be creative,” Dr. Cooke said.

This year, the pandemic has demanded even more ingenuity, prompting family leaders to figure out how to gather virtually while approximating the warmth and power of having several generations in one place.

“In many ways, that’s brought in the younger generation to kind of give back using the instruments of technology,” Dr. Cooke said, adding that Zoom had been a popular platform for reunions.

Still, families across the country are grieving the loss of face-to-face gatherings, which for Black Americans are particularly powerful and loaded.

“We generally always have a call to action, and one year our C.T.A. was actually to encourage our family members to register

Fewer opportunities for older generations to encourage voting.

and to vote,” Ms. Griggs said. “So that’s really a big part of our reunion. Oftentimes as we’re gathered there’s a lot of political talk going on.”

Despite the pandemic, the Gillyard-Johnson-Mahoney family’s voting history project goes on, as it has since the first interview was published in the February 2016 edition of the family’s newsletter.

“A lot of fragments led us to wanting to record our relatives’ thoughts on being registered voters in the state of Louisiana,” Ms. Griggs said. A few years ago, she and others were looking in family archives when they discovered

copies of their relatives’ voter registration cards, many of which were obtained after completing a literacy test. Ms. Griggs said the discovery of a reading requirement was part of the idea behind the voting history project, adding, “I think we were just a little bit curious as to why that was, and how they were approached about registering to vote.”

The result of this curiosity is a robust family newsletter, which is sent out every two to three months and includes conversations emphasizing the importance of being politically engaged and registering to vote. The July issue features a conversation with three Gen Z family members; the most recent one, published this month ahead of the election, features an interview with two senior members of the family — cousins — who share memories of their first voting experiences and their voting plans for this year’s presidential race.

Velma Dumas, 70, and Joyce Wilson-Simpson, 68, were 29 and 18 when they voted for the first time in elections in their native Louisiana. But this year, they are voting by mail because of worries about long lines and the virus. Their newsletter interview touches on whether they believe mail balloting leads to fraud (it does not) and advises younger



Ms. Griggs with family photos in Los Angeles. In her family’s newsletter, relatives share voting experiences and political views.

family members on the importance of voting.

“The family history team wanted to record interviews, and we specifically wanted them to be on voting issues,” Ms. Griggs said. “We wanted to really reach some of our elderly family members while we still had an opportunity.” Even without a physical reunion this year, older family members can encourage their younger counterparts to keep candidate platforms, registration deadlines and voting itself front of mind.

Glenda Gillyard, 65, Ms. Griggs’s younger sister and a member of the family’s history team, said she had taken her daughters to the polls with her from a young age.

“We wanted to instill in these young people that are coming along the importance of going out there and registering and voting,” she said, “because we were realizing there were high numbers of young Black people that were not registered to vote in elections.”

It has paid off: A few years ago, her youngest daughter requested to become a registered voter on her 18th birthday.

“The voting project is very important because we feel that many times young people can get caught up in ‘Oh, my vote won’t count,’” Ms. Gillyard said.

Suzanne Vargus Holloman, a director of the Family Reunion Institute at Temple University, said that civic issues were top of mind in Black and Latino communities — particularly as Election Day nears — after the wave of protests this year over police killings.

“Our expectation was that families would utilize their national reunions as well as regional family events to emphasize voting registration and voting,” Ms. Holloman said. “There is a built-in audience that is receptive to information from family leaders they know and trust.”

An alternative to the traditional family reunion happens every year in Cincinnati: the Black Family Reunion, a celebration started 32 years ago by the activist Dorothy Height. Her legacy of stirring voter awareness is upheld by the event’s executive director, Tracey Artis.

Most years, the Black Family Reunion would be a four-day, in-person event, including a speaker series, a “heritage breakfast,” a parade, a concert and a Sunday morning worship session. This year, that happened virtually instead.

Ms. Artis and volunteers teamed up with the N.A.A.C.P. to facilitate voter registration in the city’s Sawyer Park, but they also gave away hand sanitizer, masks, school supplies and food boxes, and offered free coronavirus testing. Nearly 600 people registered to vote, took a registration form to complete at home or left with a voting pamphlet, Ms. Artis said.

She said that both virus testing and voter registration could save lives.

“When we register people to vote and they go to the polls, and they go out and we see change in America, that can also save lives,” she said. “Because our lives are in jeopardy daily when you have people in office who do not care about us — who don’t understand the plight of Black America.”

DISTORTIONS

Trump Aide Belittles Masks, Stirring Furor And Debunking

By KATHERINE J. WU

For months, public health experts — backed by guidelines from the World Health Organization and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention — have stood firm on one resounding refrain: Against the coronavirus, masks work.

But on Saturday, Dr. Scott Atlas, one of President Trump’s most prominent science advisers, took to Twitter to say otherwise.

“Masks work? NO: LA, Miami, Hawaii, Alabama, France, Philippnes, UK, Spain, Israel,” Dr. Atlas tweeted, rattling off a list of locations where masks had, in his view, failed to protect large swaths of the population.

The tweet was rapidly debunked by experts, who pointed to a wealth of evidence showing that face coverings reduce the risk that the coronavirus will hop from person to person. Masks, they’ve said, cut down on the amount of virus that is sprayed out of an infected person’s airway. They might also thwart inbound virus by loosely shielding the wearer’s nose and mouth.

Not long after, Dr. Atlas reshared his first tweet with a message that seemed to walk back his original statement: “Use masks for their intended purpose — when close to others especially hi risk,” he said. “Otherwise, social distance. No widespread mandates.”

On Sunday, Twitter removed Dr. Atlas’s first tweet, saying it violated the company’s policy against false or misleading information about the coronavirus that could lead to harm.

That means the right policy is @realDonaldTrump guideline: use masks for their intended purpose - when close to others, especially hi risk. Otherwise, social distance. No widespread mandates. #CommonSense

Scott W. Atlas @SWAtlasHoover

But the damage had already been done: The post had been retweeted at least 1,800 times, and generated over 7,300 likes and replies. The removal then set off a flurry of anti-mask posts, and accusations of tech censorship, across social media. On Facebook, several right-wing pages shared copies of the tweet, while a series of anti-mask and pro-Trump groups and pages claimed that Twitter was suppressing free speech.

Dr. Atlas, a radiologist with no background in infectious disease or public health, has come under heavy fire in recent months for his stances on the coronavirus, which has killed more than 219,000 Americans. Experts have widely dismissed and criticized his views on lockdowns and masking mandates after he has derided them as unnecessary and even harmful in the fight to halt the pandemic.

Dr. Atlas has also promoted the controversial idea that herd immunity — the point at which a virus can no longer spread easily because enough people have contracted it — can be reached when only a small sliver of the community at large has been infected.

In his now-defunct Saturday tweet about masks, Dr. Atlas cast doubt on their usefulness, saying there was little evidence that they reduce disease transmission. As a send-off, he shared a link to an indictment of face coverings published on Friday by the American Institute for Economic Research, a libertarian think tank that recently sponsored a declaration arguing that the coronavirus should be allowed to spread among young healthy people to expedite herd immunity.

Masks, like all other protective measures, cannot halt the coronavirus on their own. But experts consider the accessories a crucial part of the public health tool kit needed to combat the pandemic, alongside tactics such as physical distancing and widely available testing.

Times reporters chronicle and debunk false and misleading information that is going viral online.

Latest Trump Onslaught Threatens Team’s Effort to Sharpen Message

This article is by **Maggie Haberman, Shane Goldmacher and Michael Crowley.**

President Trump’s re-election campaign on Monday announced a \$55 million advertising blitz for the final two weeks of the race in a string of battleground states, as the president spent the day unleashing attacks against Joseph R. Biden Jr., Dr. Anthony S. Fauci and the news media.

Mr. Trump also dismissed concerns about the continuing coronavirus pandemic, saying people were “tired of Covid” and news coverage about it. But his barrage intensified on Monday on a wide range of topics, as all public polls show him running behind Mr. Biden, the Democratic nominee.

The competing activities by the president and his team were a microcosm of the campaign that Mr. Trump has waged this year. Once more, his slash-and-burn commentary blocked out the sun and swamped most news coverage, even as his advisers used conventional levers to try to pull him across the finish line on Election Day.

On a morning conference call with campaign staff members that several reporters listened in on, Mr. Trump unleashed a torrent of anger about Mr. Biden and the business practices of his son Hunter Biden, as well as about Dr. Fauci, who is overwhelmingly popular with voters. The president called Dr. Fauci “a disaster”; the Trump campaign recently featured Dr. Fauci in an ad by taking his words out of context.

Mr. Trump denounced a New York Times article describing the state of his campaign; claimed to adore his White House chief of staff, Mark Meadows, of whom he has been deeply critical in recent weeks; and insisted he felt better now about winning the election than he had at any point in this campaign or his last one.

“I wouldn’t have told you that maybe two or three weeks ago,” added Mr. Trump, who announced early on Oct. 2 that he had tested positive for the coronavirus and spent three nights at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center.

At a campaign rally on Monday in Arizona, where polls show that the president is trailing Mr. Biden, Mr. Trump attacked Mr. Biden as a “criminal” and then attacked a reporter as a “criminal” for not reporting on an unsubstantiated article by The New York Post about Mr. Biden’s son. He also faulted the news media for excessive coverage of the coronavirus.

“They’re getting tired of the pandemic, aren’t they?” Mr. Trump said in Prescott, in central Arizona. “You turn on CNN. That’s all they cover. Covid, Covid, pandemic, Covid, Covid.”

He added, “They’re trying to talk people out of voting.”

Arizona has had over 231,000 coronavirus cases, the eighth-highest total in the nation, and more than 5,800 deaths, the 11th-highest number, according to a New York Times database.

Early in the summer, the state led the nation in new infections

per capita. It hit a peak of 4,797 new cases one day in late June, but new infections declined after Gov. Doug Ducey, a Republican, reversed himself and allowed local governments to require residents to wear masks.

While Mr. Trump is trying to recreate certain conditions of the 2016 campaign, he has not achieved his own level of relative discipline in the final two weeks that year. Back then, he tempered some of his incendiary comments

Final debate is seen as a chance to change a campaign’s trajectory.

and tweets.

His performance so far this week does not suggest that is in the offing.

In Arizona, he bounced from joking about the perils for a president of engaging with corporate officials while seeking donations to airing a litany of grievances against people including former President Barack Obama and Michelle Obama, the Bidens, Dr. Fauci again, and two female NBC News hosts, one of whom recently interviewed him and the other of whom is set to moderate the final debate.

He also praised himself for straying from the prepared speech on his teleprompter.

Earlier, the president’s campaign manager, Bill Stepien, announced the advertising spending on a call with reporters. The \$55 million spending plan comes as some senior campaign advisers have described a cash crunch affecting the kinds of so-called hard-dollar donations that pay for advertising.

The ads will be funded by the campaign and the Republican National Committee, with a path along the Sun Belt and the Rust Belt, including Arizona, Iowa, Michigan, North Carolina, Florida, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Nevada and Wisconsin. There will also be ads in Iowa and Ohio, Mr. Stepien said.

The Trump campaign has been out-advertised on the television airwaves for weeks, but Mr. Stepien praised the ground operation built by the R.N.C. as a countervailing force.

And he said that Mr. Biden’s late push on the ground to pull voters to the polls and to sway undecided voters was simply “too late,” and that early voting numbers were not as favorable to Democrats as they seemed to be.

The new ads are focused in particular on reaching older voters, who polls have shown are moving toward Mr. Biden, the former vice president. Ronna McDaniel, the chairwoman of the Republican National Committee, said one ad would focus on “Medicare savings” achieved during Mr. Trump’s tenure, which she called “truly phenomenal.”

Michigan Rivals Fight for Middle in an Unexpectedly Tight Senate Race

By JEREMY W. PETERS
and KATHLEEN GRAY

One candidate slapped on a helmet, a black leather jacket and rode his Harley Davidson across Michigan. His ads highlight his toughness on China and his support for banning Chinese travelers from entering the United States early in the coronavirus outbreak, a policy of President Trump's.

The other candidate calls himself "nonpartisan." He denounces the way politics have become "nastier and more divisive." His wife recently appeared in a campaign ad to talk about their young son who has asthma as a way to demonstrate her husband's commitment to protecting health insurance for people with pre-existing conditions.

Neither candidate running for United States Senate in Michigan seems to want voters to know whether he is the Republican or the Democrat.

For Senator Gary Peters, the motorcycle guy and one of only two Democrats running for reelection in a state that Mr. Trump won in 2016, the path to victory becomes much easier if he can persuade enough of Mr. Trump's supporters to vote for him.

For John James, the self-described nonpartisan Republican, success will come from the opposite: If enough people voting for former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. cross over to support a Republican for the Senate.

The race — one of a handful that could tip the balance in the Senate — is among the most highly contested and expensive in the country. Polls show a tighter race than Democrats had anticipated, and both sides are fighting for the few remaining independent, undecided voters. In an election in which the parties have focused on getting their base to turn out, Michigan stands out as a place where winning the middle could make the difference.

Polls have varied but show Mr. James with an outside chance of helping Republicans flip a Democratic seat. A New York Times/Siena College survey found Mr. Peters up by one point, while others put his lead in the mid-to-high single digits.

Money has been pouring in. The outside political group leading efforts for Democrats, Senate Majority PAC, put \$4.4 million into Michigan last week, federal filings show — bringing its total spending in the race to over \$18 million. The only state where it spent more last week was Georgia. Republicans countered by adding an additional \$5.6 million to the \$9 million they had already pledged to spend in the final weeks.

It's all been a bit disorienting for some voters.

Charles Gaba, a health policy analyst and Democrat from the Detroit suburb of Bloomfield Township, said that his friends who weren't as politically tuned in were not sure which candidate was the Republican and which was the Democrat.

Compounding the issue, Mr. Gaba said, is the fact that Mr.

James is Black, which probably makes some people assume that he is a Democrat. Mr. Peters fits the more stereotypical image of a Republican.

"Some people are confused," Mr. Gaba said, which could contribute to the tightness in the polls.

Mr. James, a 39-year-old former Army helicopter pilot, has tried to steer his underdog campaign through one of the most difficult balancing acts of any Republican running for national office in this election. As a Black man on the same ticket as a president who makes overtly racist appeals to voters, Mr. James has been constrained and reticent in his criticisms, mindful that pushing back too hard could offend Mr. Trump's intensely loyal base.

And as a candidate vying for the support of nonpartisans in a state that has trended away from Mr. Trump since he won there by 10,704 votes four years ago, Mr. James has strained to prove his independence. Democrats have attacked him for his refusal to put greater distance between himself and the president, highlighting comments like his insistence that he would "support the president's agenda 2,000 percent."

Mr. James's campaign sees victory within reach if he can continue to tighten the race and Mr. Trump improves his standing; the latest data show Mr. Biden ahead in the state by high single digits.

Both parties are betting that despite the tribal nature of today's politics, there are still people open to the idea of voting for a candidate from a different party in races down the ballot. That is what happened in 2016, when winning Republican Senate candidates carried battleground states by a few more percentage points than Mr. Trump on average. In bellwether Wisconsin, for instance, Mr. Trump won with 47 percent of the vote while Senator Ron Johnson received 50 percent.

"There is this thing in America called ticket splitters," said Curt Anderson, a Republican consultant who is advising the James campaign. "That doesn't mean it will happen, but it happens all the time. I'm not saying it's not harder now or that the party bases aren't more firm. But our data is pretty clear that there's a path for John, and we're on it."

Not all Republicans are convinced. The Trump campaign's internal polling does not show Mr. Peters at considerable risk. And the money that Republicans continue to invest in the race has led aides to senators in races that appear to be much closer to complain privately to party officials.

If Mr. James wins, it will be an embarrassing blow for Democrats in a state that they assumed would be a lock. Only one Republican, a candidate for the state's Supreme Court, has won a statewide race since Mr. Trump's narrow victory four years ago. Democrats flipped two House seats in 2018 and won the governor's race after eight years of Republican control.

Mr. Peters, 61, has been involved in local, state and federal



PHOTOGRAPHS BY EMILY ELCONIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Gary Peters, a Democrat, hopes to lure some supporters of President Trump.



John James says he is a nonpartisan Republican but has strained to prove his independence.

politics for three decades, from the Rochester Hills City Council to the State Senate to the U.S. House of Representatives and now the Senate. But he is not well known and has not faced voters since 2014.

"Folks are just getting nervous about the entire election right now," he said. "We know what happened in 2016 in Michigan. Hillary was up in the polls about where Joe Biden is right now. And we know how that turned out."

He is seen as a workhorse who prefers to operate behind the scenes but not as a particularly dynamic campaigner.

Ed Sarpolus, a Democratic political consultant and pollster, said he had been worried about the race for months.

"What he hasn't done for the last six years is be visible and personable," he said. "What happened to his family in his ads? You've got to tell your story, but he's not shown any of that this

year. He looks like a professor, rather than an everyday Joe."

The motorcycle trip this summer may have been an effort to shore up support with his base of organized labor, but it didn't help

Mr. Peters with progressives, an emerging wing of the party, Mr. Sarpolus said.

Mr. James's competitiveness is the result of fastidious discipline with his message — which critics

say has consisted of avoiding settings where he would face difficult questions and then providing nonanswers the few times he has been put on the spot. Voters have found his personal narrative to be compelling: a West Point graduate and combat veteran who runs a shipping business that is part of the company that his father started.

"I don't have a problem with Democrats because I don't have a blue message or a red message," Mr. James told an audience at a fund-raiser on the west side of the state on Friday. "I don't have a Black message or a white message. I have a red, white and blue message."

Big donors have loved it, as have individuals who give far less. Mr. James has raised more money than Mr. Peters has in every quarter so far this year except for in the most recent quarter, when they effectively tied.

In today's all-or-nothing political climate, a candidate who occupies the wobbly middle ground is taking major risks. For Republicans, there are usually just two paths: fealty to the president or outright defiance.

Mr. James has hardly declared his independence from Mr. Trump. His criticism of the president's handling of the unrest over the killing of George Floyd was gentle. But his public appearances lately have spoken volumes. When Mr. Trump visited the mid-Michigan town of Freeland in September, Mr. James spoke to the thousands who came for the rally. But his speech came two hours before Mr. Trump arrived and by then, Mr. James was gone. Mr. James did not appear on Saturday at the president's rally in Western Michigan.

According to recent polls, there are still large numbers of undecided voters and although they tend to lean Democratic, the pollster Richard Czuba says Mr. Peters hasn't sealed the deal.

"One of the things we found, particularly with young Black voters under 40, there is still a sizable undecided chunk out there," said Mr. Czuba, founder of the polling firm Glengarriff Group, which in an early October poll found Mr. Peters with a five-point lead. "These are the people who Gary Peters needs to bring in and he hasn't gotten there yet."



PRESIDENT TRUMP
ATTACKING THE VIRUS HEAD ON

AD WATCH

Trump, in a Mask, Tries to Recast His Virus Response

Democrats have spent months hammering President Trump for his handling of the coronavirus. With just over two weeks left until Election Day, Mr. Trump's campaign has a new ad attacking Joseph R. Biden Jr. on the issue that also tries to recast the White House's pandemic response, which has dragged down the president's re-election prospects.

THE MESSAGE The 30-second ad is split into two parts. The first lashes out at Mr. Biden, accusing him of having "no real plan" for the virus and charging that his response has been to "criticize, complain and surrender."

Then the music shifts as the narrator declares "President Trump is leading" as he appears in multiple scenes wearing a mask, which he has mostly

avoided doing in public, including after he contracted the coronavirus. The ad then hails Mr. Trump for "attacking the virus head on." The narrator declares: "Under President Trump, we will be careful but resolute. And we will defeat this virus."

FACT CHECK The ad's declaration that Mr. Biden "has no real plan to defeat the coronavirus" is not accurate. The former vice president has a section of his website devoted to the topic, as well as a plan to reopen the economy. The ad also quotes Mr. Biden accusing Mr. Trump of "hysterical xenophobia" after he imposed a travel ban from China. Mr. Biden made the comments the day the ban was imposed, according to PolitiFact, though the words were not explicitly tied to the travel restriction.

Later, the ad says Mr. Trump is "developing a vaccine in record time." While potential vaccines may arrive in record time, they are being developed by private companies, not by Mr. Trump or his administration.

WHERE IT'S RUNNING The ad began airing over the weekend in some battlegrounds, including Arizona, where Mr. Trump campaigned on Monday, and in Pennsylvania, Florida, Michigan, North Carolina, Georgia and Maine.

THE TAKEAWAY Mr. Trump is seeking to gain political ground on an issue that has undermined his support. With 220,000 Americans dead from the virus and millions unemployed, it may be too late to reverse public opinion. SHANE GOLDMACHER

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Court to Review Immigration Policies, Joining Docket of Trump Agenda

From Page 1

block the disclosure of his financial records to a New York grand jury. The court will also shortly address disputes from Wisconsin on deadlines for mailed ballots, a form of voting that Mr. Trump has ceaselessly and baselessly attacked.

And next month, the court will hear arguments in a challenge to the Affordable Care Act brought by Republican state officials and backed by the Trump administration.

The court is very likely to be back at full strength soon, as Judge Amy Coney Barrett, Mr. Trump’s Supreme Court pick, appears to be on track to be confirmed next week. She would expand and cement the court’s conservative majority, and the court’s recent actions, along with an inevitable parade of election disputes in coming weeks, have ensured that she will play a role in determining the lawfulness of some key programs and policies of the president who appointed her.

The arguments in the two new immigration cases will probably not be heard until February, long after the election. Should Mr. Trump’s Democratic opponent, Joseph R. Biden Jr., win, his administration could take steps to make the cases moot.

But Judge Barrett will almost certainly play a role in deciding the voting disputes that have been arriving at the court almost daily. She will very likely hear arguments in the health care case on Nov. 10 and the reapportionment case on Nov. 30. And, unless the court acts very quickly to shut down the case on Mr. Trump’s financial records, she will probably participate in that case, too.

Still, a Biden administration, particularly one working with a Congress controlled by Demo-

Reviewing cases on asylum seekers and the border wall.

crats, will have ways to roll back many Trump administration’s initiatives, said Theresa Cardinal Brown, the director of immigration and cross-border policy at the Bipartisan Policy Center. The immigration cases, she said, showed “the challenge of relying on executive action for large and sweeping policies when there are litigants out there ready to litigate.”

“This is sort of one of the impacts of all the litigation against the Trump administration’s policies,” Ms. Brown said. “What happens to the litigation once the administration is no longer in place and the policies are no longer being enforced by a new administration?”

In the case on asylum seekers, the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit blocked the program, known as Remain in

Zolan Kanno-Youngs contributed reporting.



PAUL RATJE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The Trump administration used a public health emergency rule to turn away migrants without letting them request asylum.

Mexico, in February, saying it was at odds with both federal law and international treaties and was causing “extreme and irreversible harm.” The next month, the Supreme Court stayed that ruling while appeals moved forward.

The program applies to people who leave a third country and travel through Mexico to reach the United States border. Since the policy was put in place at the beginning of last year, tens of thousands of people have waited for immigration hearings in unsanitary tent encampments exposed to the elements. There have been widespread reports of sexual assault, kidnapping and torture.

The coronavirus pandemic has also complicated matters. In its brief seeking Supreme Court review, filed in April, the administration acknowledged that “the public health emergency caused by the Covid-19 virus” prompted it to take additional measures making it even harder to seek asylum.

The Trump administration began using a public health emergency rule in March to rapidly turn away migrants to Mexico or their home countries without providing most the opportunity to request asylum. The policy, which expels migrants within hours of being detained, has also had the unintended consequence of giving migrants more chances to cross illegally as border crossings have steadily increased since this summer.

Customs and Border Protection recorded 197,043 expulsions in the fiscal year that ended on Sept. 30, but in 37 percent of the cases, the agents rapidly returned a migrant who had previously crossed the



JOSE LUIS GONZALEZ/REUTERS

Environmental groups sued to stop the president from using military funds to build a wall.

border.

The administration’s brief said the original program — formally called the Migrant Protection Protocols, or M.P.P., and administered by the Department of Homeland Security — had been successful.

“During the 14 months that M.P.P. has been in operation, it has been enormously effective: It has enabled D.H.S. to avoid detaining or releasing into the interior more than 60,000 migrants during removal proceedings, and has dramatically curtailed the number of aliens approaching or attempting

to cross the southwest border,” the brief said.

Asylum seekers and legal groups, represented by the American Civil Liberties Union, responded in July that the dispute was, for now, academic, as the administration, citing the pandemic, had in effect closed the border to asylum seekers. They urged the court to deny review in the case, *Wolf v. Innovation Law Lab*, No. 19-1212.

In a second brief, the administration said the pandemic did not make the case less urgent.

“The current suspension on introducing certain aliens is a temporary response to the pandemic,” the brief said. “The decisions below impose severe constraints” on the government, the brief said, “and those constraints will endure long past the present emergency.”

After the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case, Judy Rabinovitz, a lawyer with the A.C.L.U., said she hoped the justices would protect her clients.

“Asylum seekers face grave danger every day this illegal and depraved policy is in effect,” she

Justice Dept. Backs Role In a Defamation Lawsuit Brought Against Trump

By BENJAMIN WEISER and ALAN FEUER

The Justice Department said on Monday that President Trump should not be sued personally for having denied a rape allegation because he made the statement while acting in his official capacity as president.

Lawyers for the government made the argument as they defended Attorney General William P. Barr’s decision to intervene in a defamation lawsuit filed in a New York court against President Trump by E. Jean Carroll, the writer.

Ms. Carroll has said that Mr. Trump raped her in a department store two decades ago and then falsely denied the attack, branding her a liar and harming her reputation.

But Justice Department lawyers say that even though the allegation concerns an incident that occurred decades before Mr. Trump became president, his denial was still an official act because he “addressed matters relating to his fitness for office as part of an official White House response to press inquiries.”

“Given the president’s position in our constitutional structure, his role in communicating with the public is especially significant,” the Justice Department wrote, adding, “The president’s statements fall within the scope of his employment for multiple reasons.”

On Sept. 8, the Justice Depart-

Susan C. Beachy contributed research.

ment took the highly unusual step of seeking to intervene in the case even though it revolved around an event that allegedly occurred in the 1990s, long before Mr. Trump became president.

Using a law designed to protect federal employees from defamation suits when they perform their duties, Mr. Barr sought to transfer the lawsuit from state court to Federal District Court in Manhattan and to substitute the federal government for Mr. Trump as the defendant.

That maneuver, if approved by a judge, would have the practical effect of dismissing Ms. Carroll’s lawsuit because government employees enjoy immunity from most defamation claims.

This month, Ms. Carroll’s lawyers attacked the effort in court papers, asking a federal judge, Lewis A. Kaplan, to reject it.

“There is not a single person in the United States — not the president and not anyone else — whose job description includes slandering women they sexually assaulted,” Ms. Carroll’s lawyers wrote.

In its filing on Monday, however, the Justice Department argued that Mr. Trump had not slandered Ms. Carroll but merely rebutted her allegations. That fell within the scope of his official role as president, the department said, because a claim of rape — even a false one — could have an impact on his job.

Ms. Carroll’s allegations “sought to call into question the president’s fitness for office and a response was necessary for the



SETH WENIG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Lawyers for E. Jean Carroll said the president should respond to her lawsuit as a private citizen.

president to effectively govern,” the Justice Department said. “The president’s challenged statements were directly relevant to his role as president and leader of the executive branch.”

The controversy over the case even arose during a presidential campaign event last week, when the Democratic candidate, Joseph R. Biden Jr., alluded to it, among other examples, to accuse Mr. Trump of treating the Justice Department “as if it’s your own law firm.”

“I’m being sued because a woman’s accusing me of rape. Represent me. Represent me,” Mr. Biden said sarcastically, as if speaking in the president’s voice, adding, “What’s that all about?”

A day after the requested transfer of the case, Mr. Barr told re-

porters in Chicago that it was routine to substitute the government as the defendant in lawsuits against federal officials and that the action was taken at the White House’s request.

“The law is clear,” Mr. Barr said. “It is done frequently. And the little tempest that’s going on is largely because of the bizarre political environment in which we live.”

In their court papers attacking the government’s move, Ms. Carroll’s lawyers, Roberta A. Kaplan and Joshua Matz, acknowledged that while it may be typical for the government to take the place of low-level federal employees like letter carriers when they are sued, it was not normal to do so for the president.

Ms. Carroll, a longtime advice

columnist for Elle magazine, wrote in a book published last year and in excerpts in New York magazine that Mr. Trump attacked her in a dressing room in the luxury Manhattan department store Bergdorf Goodman in the mid-1990s.

According to Ms. Carroll’s account, Mr. Trump had stopped her and said, “Hey, you’re that advice lady!”

She claimed Mr. Trump threw her against a wall, pulled down her tights, opened his pants and raped her.

In response, Mr. Trump denied that he had ever met Ms. Carroll and accused her of lying, adding, “She’s not my type.” In a written statement, Mr. Trump also said Ms. Carroll was “trying to sell a new book.”

said. “The courts have repeatedly ruled against it, and the Supreme Court should as well.”

Alexa Vance, a Justice Department spokeswoman, said the program had “been a critical component of our efforts to manage the immigration crisis on our southern border.”

In the border-wall case, a divided three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit ruled against the administration in June, saying Congress had not authorized the spending. But the Supreme Court, in a pair of interim orders decided by 5-to-4 votes, had allowed construction to continue until it ruled in the case.

One of those orders, though it was unsigned and only a paragraph long, indicated that the groups challenging the administration may not have a legal right to do so. That suggested that the court’s conservative majority was likely to side with the administration in the end.

The case arose from Mr. Trump’s efforts to make good on a campaign promise to build the barrier. In early 2019, he declared a national emergency along the Mexican border. The declaration followed a two-month impasse with Congress over funding to build the wall, a standoff that gave rise to the longest partial government shutdown in the nation’s history.

After Congress appropriated only a fraction of what the president had sought, he announced that he would act unilaterally to spend billions more.

The administration has rushed to build the barrier along 450 miles of the southwestern border before the end of the year. Mr. Trump has built 371 miles of new wall, and while most of it stands in areas where dilapidated or vehicle barriers once stood, the taller new wall has disrupted environmental sites, Indigenous lands and the private property of landowners.

Environmental groups sued to stop the president’s plan to use money meant for military programs to build barriers along the border in what he said was an effort to combat drug trafficking. California and New Mexico filed a similar lawsuit.

Judge Haywood S. Gilliam Jr., of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California, blocked the construction in a pair of decisions that said the statute the administration had relied on to justify the transfer did not authorize it.

The Ninth Circuit affirmed Judge Gilliam’s injunction, saying that “the Constitution delegates exclusively to Congress the power of the purse.”

In urging the Supreme Court to hear the case, *Trump v. Sierra Club*, No. 20-138, lawyers for the administration wrote that “the decisions below concern a matter of exceptional national importance.” The court routinely grants review in cases concerning judicial interference with the executive branch’s efforts to protect the nation’s security, the brief said.

The environmental groups, represented by the A.C.L.U., responded that Mr. Trump should not be permitted to defy Congress.

Saying a denial of a rape claim fell ‘within the scope’ of work.

He added, “It should be sold in the fiction section.”

In her lawsuit, filed in November, Ms. Carroll said Mr. Trump’s defamatory statement had led her to lose good will and the support of her readers.

The defamation suit is a legal tactic that at least one other woman, Summer Zervos, a former contestant on “The Apprentice,” Mr. Trump’s reality television show, has adopted in an effort to force the president to give a sworn deposition about her allegation that she was sexually harassed. Several women accused Mr. Trump of sexual harassment and assault during the 2016 election; he denied all the allegations, calling them liars.

In the Carroll lawsuit, Mr. Trump, initially represented by private lawyers, tried to delay the case on grounds that as a sitting president, he was immune to civil lawsuits in state court.

But in August, a New York State judge, Verna L. Saunders, denied his request. She cited a ruling by the United States Supreme Court this summer, which rejected a claim by Mr. Trump that, as president, he was immune from a state criminal investigation. That dispute arose after the Manhattan district attorney’s office subpoenaed Mr. Trump’s accountants for his tax returns.

The judge’s ruling meant that Mr. Trump would have to provide a DNA sample, as requested by Ms. Carroll’s lawyers, to determine whether it matched material on the dress Ms. Carroll said she was wearing during the encounter.

Obama-Era Stimulus Serves as Flawed Guide For the Next President

From Page A1

midterm elections was 9.8 percent, nearly as high as it had been a year earlier. That combination of a weak recovery with the perception of wasteful spending helped Republicans retake the House of Representatives.

Most voters never agreed with the view of economists that the recession would have been worse if not for the stimulus bill. In 2010, for example, only 35 percent of Americans in a Pew survey believed that the legislation had helped keep unemployment from growing worse. By contrast, 80 percent of economists surveyed in 2012 said the legislation had resulted in a lower jobless rate that year.

The lesson: If you are going to shoot your shot at fixing the economy, you had best go big enough to not merely stop it from collapsing, but also to get a boom underway. Failure will doom an administration to unpopularity

The Upshot

The Upshot provides news, analysis and graphics about politics, policy and everyday life. [nytimes.com/upshot](https://www.nytimes.com/upshot)

and stymie a broader agenda.

The same economic challenges will apply if Mr. Trump is re-elected, though the likely policy approach would be different. In negotiations over pandemic relief spending, the administration has embraced help for businesses, including protecting them from virus-related legal liability. And many Republican senators have opposed a new large-scale stimulus, despite occasional tweets from the president advocating it. His allies have argued that the administration's strategy of deregulation and low taxes will create a robust recovery as public health concerns ebb.

Jon Lieber, an analyst who tracks American politics for Eurasia Group, projects that a Trump victory and Republican retention of Senate control would result in pandemic-related stimulus around \$600 billion. Democrats are looking at much more,

with Mr. Lieber projecting \$2.5 trillion to \$3.5 trillion in the event of a Biden victory and a Democratic retaking of the Senate.

The scale of that possible fiscal action reflects a consensus among liberal-leaning economists — including those advising Mr. Biden: that the risk of doing too little to get the economy back on a path to prosperity is greater than the potential downside of doing too much.

“We have much better tools for tamping down growth that is too fast than we have the tools to boost an economy that's too weak,” said Wendy Edelberg, director of the Hamilton Project at the Brookings Institution and a former chief economist at the Congressional Budget Office. “Once our economy gets into a slow-growth, grinding scenario, it is very difficult to change that course.”

At the same time, a sharp drop in interest rates even as budget deficits have risen has led many centrist and left-leaning economists to worry less about debt than they did in the Obama years. And Republican support for a \$1.5 trillion tax cut in 2017 and a \$2.2 trillion pandemic relief bill this past spring has helped reduce sticker shock over 13-figure cost estimates.

Ms. Edelberg published a paper with Louise Sheiner this month estimating that \$2 trillion in fiscal stimulus would bring the economy back to its pre-pandemic growth path by the third quarter of 2021. In the absence of any action, they estimate, it could take as long as a decade.

Mr. Biden has cited his work on the 2009 bill, boasting of his work to prevent fraud and of the role the recovery act played in supporting state and local governments and clean energy. In discussing his 2021 agenda, he has promised “the kinds of investment that will stimulate the economy” and “to get back to full employment fast and help build back better than before.”

Those who advise him say he is aware of the historical echoes. “Joe Biden doesn't want to come into office and sit on a sloggy economy for four, six, eight quarters,” said Jared Bernstein, who advised Mr. Biden



Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. in 2009 discussing the Recovery Act, which ended up liked by economists more than by voters.

during his vice presidency and does so now. “If he gets the chance, I suspect there will be real motivation to do this deeply, effectively and quickly.”

In particular, Mr. Bernstein said, a Biden administration would seek “high-multiplier” policies that funnel money to people and businesses that need it and are likely to spend it, helping funds circulate through the economy quickly to fuel growth.

The Obama administration's miscalculations were political and economic. The economy was in such free fall over the winter of 2008-9 that estimates of the shortfall in economic activity that fiscal stimulus might seek to replace were continually behind the curve. A deeply unpopular bank bailout, passed by the George W. Bush administration but carried out by the Obama team, fueled outrage, and many voters conflated the two. Political advisers in the White House believed that if they sought more than \$1 trillion in fiscal aid, the political backlash would be so severe as to risk getting nothing.

Political and economic aides misunderstood some of the ways politics and economics could intersect in a severe recession like that one.

“We absolutely thought that Congress would want to do multi-

ple high-profile rounds of stimulus if the economy was worse than expected,” said Jason Furman, an Obama economic adviser who is now at Harvard. “We thought Congress running for re-election in 2010 would want to be seen doing something to help the economy so they could campaign on it. We didn't realize how unpopular it was going to be by then.”

Details of a Biden stimulus would depend on what, if any, fiscal action is enacted before January; how the economy evolves between now and then; and the size of any Senate majority Democrats might obtain. Mr. Biden has emphasized relief efforts that would include significant help for green energy, low-income households, and state and local governments. It would probably be similar to the \$3 trillion pandemic relief legislation that House Democrats passed in the spring, Biden allies and outside analysts said.

A crucial question for any Biden stimulus would be how Democrats approach legislative strategy in the Senate.

In 2009, the Obama administration secured a 60-vote supermajority in the Senate needed to overcome a Republican filibuster by winning over three Republicans. But that would be an unap-

pealing pathway should Mr. Biden find himself in a similar spot in early 2021.

Even if Democrats were to win the Senate, it would probably be a narrow majority, meaning more Republicans would be needed to get to 60 “yes” votes for stimulus. There are also fewer centrist Republicans today whose votes are likely to be available in 2021.

And the history of 2009 applies. Negotiations with Republicans led to a smaller bill and one with more components that Mr. Obama's aides viewed as ineffective. The three Republican votes, in other words, displayed little bipartisanship, and diluted the bill's economic effect.

In 2021, a Democratic Senate would have two options to go it alone. It could use “reconciliation,” a budget process that allows tax and spending legislation to be enacted with a simple majority vote. But this would put strict limits on what the bill could do, ruling out many regulatory or other provisions that the Senate parliamentarian might declare ineligible.

Then there is the option of eliminating the 60-vote filibuster rule, which would open the door for more expansive policymaking on all fronts, but could prove politically unpopular and would have far-reaching consequences

for how Congress works.

That's unlikely to happen right away, said Mr. Lieber, the Eurasia Group analyst and a former adviser to Mitch McConnell, the Senate majority leader: “They need to set up the political argument first that, ‘We tried working with Republicans on the puppy dogs and grandmas act and they filibustered it, and then the ice-cream-for-everyone act and they filibustered that.’”

A central tension for Democrats would be between a focus on policies that get money out the door quickly and can seed a speedy economic rebound, versus those that take place more slowly but can create more lasting change.

To many in the Biden orbit who lived through the toxic politics of the 2009 stimulus, the urgency of doing more than papering over a rough patch in the economy is a vivid lesson.

“There was a mantra in 2009 of stimulus being ‘timely, targeted and temporary,’” said Heather Boushey, president of the Washington Center for Equitable Growth. “That seemed right for the problem we were solving then. This problem feels different because it's unearthed these really important structural challenges that need to be solved.”

Hiker Missing 2 Weeks in Utah Is Safe

By CHRISTINE HAUSER

Shortly after Holly Suzanne Courtier set out on a hike in Utah's Zion National Park nearly two weeks ago, she injured her head on a tree with a blow so disorienting that she could not seek help or stray far. But she survived by staying near water until Sunday, when help found her.

Ms. Courtier's daughter, Kailey Chambers, provided that account to reporters on Monday in an email that described her mother's ordeal in the vast wilderness, which started with her disappearance on Oct. 6 and ended with her rescue on Sunday.

“She was without food the entire time in Zion,” Ms. Chambers said in the statement, emailed by a family friend, Kelley Kaufman White. “She was unable to take more than a step or two without collapsing. This prevented her from being able to seek out help. She told me she was so dehydrated she couldn't open her mouth.”

Ms. Chambers said she visited her mother on Monday while she was getting medical care. “She is getting her strength back and hydrating,” she said. “She is still weak but recovering. She has been getting fluids because she was extremely dehydrated. And we are slowly introducing foods. Her health remains our top priority.”

Ms. Courtier went missing on Oct. 6, after getting off a shuttle bus at the Grotto bus stop in the park. Her family said in a statement on Sunday that they were “overjoyed” that she had been

found safely.

The statement on Monday filled in some of the blanks in the story of what happened to Ms. Courtier, 38, whose disappearance prompted a search by officials from the Washington County Sheriff's Office, park rangers and emergency service teams. Volunteers also joined the effort, and teams used drones and canine units, the National Park Service said in a series of statements about their efforts to locate her.

The authorities had said that a park visitor reported seeing her, but they did not say exactly where, or how far she had gone into the vast park.

Ms. Courtier got off the shuttle bus at the Grotto stop between 1 and 1:30 p.m. on Oct. 6, the park service said. She was reported missing two days later, the service said.

Park officials and rescue teams did not immediately reply to calls and emails seeking information about the circumstances of finding Ms. Courtier or other details of her survival, such as how she found shelter and food.

Nancy Hachmeister, a volunteer who joined a search and rescue team with her German shepherd, Hanna, combed an area near the campgrounds of the park, us-

ing a cut-up T-shirt that Ms. Courtier had in her car as a scent item to guide the dog.

Four other dog teams from her volunteer organization, Utah Search Dogs, a nonprofit organization in Brigham City, fanned out to help. But their efforts seemed to lead only to dead ends, such as when Ms. Hachmeister and her dog climbed a hillside on Friday to examine a blue object.

“It was a rock,” she said. “It was kind of grayish and it did look blue from a distance.”

Ms. Courtier's family could not be reached for further comment. A GoFundMe campaign that was set up after she went missing raised \$10,000 for her rescue. It said that Ms. Courtier had no phone with her and had told no one of her plans.

It was updated on Sunday after Ms. Courtier was found, saying she needed medical care and had no insurance.

On Saturday, her daughter, Ms. Chambers, told CNN that her mother was an experienced, fit hiker, capable of handling the rugged trails of the park. “This was her dream, to see national parks,” Ms. Chambers said. She said that her mother had just lost her job as a nanny.

“She made that a positive thing — said that gave her the time to get out, see the parks,” Ms. Chambers said.

Known for its canyons and waterfalls, Zion National Park is spread across more than 148,000 acres in Washington, Iron and Kane Counties in southwest Utah.

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Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Monday about the two children Judge Amy Coney Barrett and her husband adopted from Haiti misstated the school that Libien Becker attends. It is Montana Technological University, not Montana Technical University.

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ARTS

An article on Monday about what to watch on television this week misidentified the characters played by Imelda Staunton and Francesca Annis in “Flesh and Blood.” Staunton is the neighbor and Annis is the widow, not the other way around. It also misstated the network that is airing “Halloween.” It is AMC, not TCM.

A theater review on Oct. 13 referred incorrectly to the former first lady Louisa Adams's “Adventures of a Nobody.” It was included in a 2013 collection of Adams's autobiographical writings; it is not the case that it was never published.

A Critic's Notebook on Saturday

about the Montpellier Danse festival misspelled the surname of the festival director. He is Jean-Paul Montanari, not Montenari. The article also misspelled the given name of an Israeli choreographer. He is Emanuel Gat, not Emmanuel.

An earlier version of a picture caption with an article on Monday about Bruce Springsteen's new album, using information provided by the artist's representatives, misidentified a musician. He is Charlie Giordano, not Benjamin Newberry.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

Alan Boyd, 98, Who Built a Life Overseeing a Nation’s Transportation, Dies

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

Alan S. Boyd, the first United States secretary of transportation, who was named by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966 to integrate the nation’s sprawling networks of planes, trains, ships and highways into a new superagency, died on Sunday in Seattle. He was 98.

He died at Aegis at Ravenna, a retirement home, his son, Mark, said.

Despite resistance from bureaucrats and maritime unions, and having to work with underfunded mass transit systems, Mr. Boyd won relatively high marks for a two-year effort to merge dozens of transportation-related federal agencies into a cabinet-level department with 95,000 employees and a more than \$5 billion budget. The main holdout was the Maritime Administration, which was not brought into the fold until 1981.

A half-century after Mr. Boyd laid the foundations, the Department of Transportation’s \$76.5 billion budget and 54,700 employees regulate aviation, railroads, mass transit, shipping, highways, pipelines, the St. Lawrence Seaway and other transport entities. After the Sept. 11 attacks, the Transportation Security Administration and the Coast Guard were transferred in 2003 to a new Department of Homeland Security.

It was perhaps inevitable that Mr. Boyd would find a life in transportation. A great-grandfather invented America’s first horse-drawn streetcar on rails, his father was a highway engineer, and his stepfather was a lawyer for a railroad company. At 17, Alan visited the 1939 World’s Fair in New York City and was dazzled by a General Motors exhibit: a futuristic diorama of superhighways crisscrossing the country.

In Washington for nearly a decade, Mr. Boyd was a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board under President Dwight D. Eisenhower and its chairman under President John F. Kennedy. In the Johnson administration, he was the under secretary of commerce for transportation, and then the secretary of transportation from Jan. 16, 1967, to the start of the Nixon administration on Jan. 20, 1969.

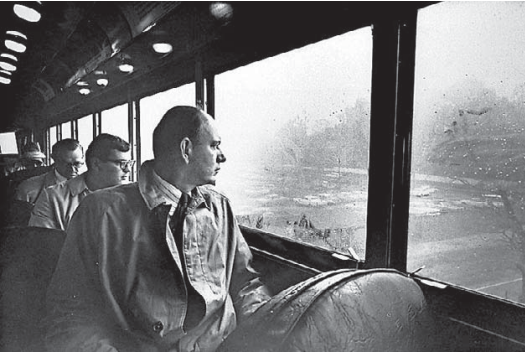
After his time at the transportation department, he took on a number of private and public roles. He was president of the Illinois Central Railroad; President Jimmy Carter’s chief negotiator for a 1977 air-travel pact with Britain, called Bermuda II, governing fares, air routes and other trans-Atlantic arrangements; president of Amtrak; and finally president of the North American arm of Airbus Industrie, the French jetliner manufacturer.

While Mr. Boyd’s succession of titles and associations with presidents made an impressive record, his success was hardly a smooth upward trajectory; rather, it was a series of disjointed, sometimes chance events, as he recalled in an autobiography, “A Great Honor: My Life Shaping 20th Century



HENRY GRIFFIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Alan Boyd, above in 1967 and left in 1968, served as the nation’s first transportation chief under President Lyndon B. Johnson. He streamlined many fragmented agencies and later ran Amtrak.



STAN WAYMAN/THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Transportation” (2016). (His eyesight failing at 93, Mr. Boyd dictated the book into a recorder and completed it with his son’s help.)

Mr. Boyd flunked out of college, but eventually returned and went on to become a lawyer and to receive four honorary doctorates. He was hit by lightning after enlisting in the military and was saved by CPR, but hid the incident from medics to qualify for the Army Air Forces. He became a World War II C-47 pilot, ferrying paratroops into Normandy on D-Day and supplies to besieged Americans at the Battle of the Bulge. After the war, he was rejected for an entry-level job with the Civil Aeronautics Board, but a decade later became the board’s chairman.

It was happenstance that brought Mr. Boyd to the attention of Johnson, in 1961, when Johnson was vice president, leading to a lasting bond and Mr. Boyd’s rise to prominence in Washington. Johnson’s private plane had crashed en route to pick him up at his Texas ranch, and both pilots had been killed. It was Mr. Boyd’s turn in a rotation at the Civil Aeronautics

Board, which regulated the airline industry, to lead the accident investigation. Johnson did not forget him or his thorough work.

In 1965, as president, Johnson named Mr. Boyd under secretary of commerce for transportation. Mr. Boyd soon resolved to end what he regarded as wasteful federal subsidies to American merchant ships. Invited to the Oval Office to discuss his plan with Johnson and his chief domestic aide, Joseph A. Califano Jr., Mr. Boyd, according to his memoir, got into a heated dispute with the president:

“‘You don’t know what you’re talking about, Alan,’ Johnson said. ‘The merchant marine is our fourth arm of defense. If we got into another war without it, we would be totally helpless.’

“‘Mr. President,’ I said, ‘you are crazy as hell!’

“Joe seemed shocked that I would address the president in such a tone. But I had gotten to know the president, and knew he would take my comments in stride. I pointed out that American shipping companies owned hundreds of ships registered un-

der flags of convenience. Those ships had served the United States during World War II and Korea, and they would be available in case of future need.

“‘All right, you bastard,’ the president shot back. ‘I know you’re right. And I also know you’re going to get us both killed politically. I’ll support you for a year. See what you can do.’”

Mr. Boyd used the year. He made his case to shipowners, the Seafarers’ International Union and to Congress, but got nowhere. The subsidies were too entrenched. He told the president he had failed.

“‘I knew you would, Alan,’ Johnson had said, according to Mr. Boyd’s memoir. “‘But you gave it a good try.’”

In 1966, Johnson revived a long-discussed idea of streamlining the nation’s fragmented transportation systems. There were 35 agencies with related responsibilities. Americans spent 20 percent of their income on transportation. Mr. Boyd led a group that studied the problems, wrote a bill to create the Department of Transportation and shepherded it through Congress.

Johnson signed the bill into law on Oct. 15, 1966, and the department began operation on April 1, 1967. Mr. Boyd, confirmed by the Senate without opposition as the first transportation secretary, picked both Democrats and Republicans as aides, insisting that transportation was nonpartisan. He plunged into airport modernization, air traffic control improvements, enforcement of auto safety standards and driver education.

But congressional appropriations dictated that 80 percent of his budget be earmarked for highways, including for Lady Bird Johnson’s highway beautification program, while airlines, railroads and mass transit got short shrift. “We’ve got a bucketful of money for highways and only a medicine dropperful for the rest,” Mr. Boyd told Forbes magazine in 1968. He said his hands were tied.

He also found that unifying many agencies was a thicket. “No

Merging dozens of air, sea and land systems into a cabinet agency.

matter what you wanted to do or what change you suggested, the response was classically, ‘That’s not the way we do it here;’” he wrote in his memoir.

Shipowners and maritime unions never forgot Mr. Boyd’s opposition to their subsidies, and it took 15 years to incorporate the Maritime Administration into the department.

When it was introduced in 1981, the supersonic transport plane seemed to represent the future of passenger air travel, but studies called it costly, inefficient and noisy. British and French versions were built, but Congress ended funding for the plane.

When Richard M. Nixon was elected president in 1968, Mr. Boyd, looking for a new job, considered a run for the Senate, but moved to Chicago and became

president and chief executive of the Illinois Central Railroad from 1969 to 1976. He was accused of a conflict of interest because the railroad had just received a \$25 million grant from the federal Transportation Department. But an inquiry found that he had had no role in making the grant.

As president of Amtrak, the government-supported National Railroad Passenger Corporation, from 1978 to 1982, Mr. Boyd fought cutbacks in funding and service. But subsidies dwindled. When he left, he said his chief regret was failing to establish permanent funding for Amtrak. With Airbus, from 1982 to 1992, his biggest sale was to Braniff Airlines in 1989, a \$3.5 billion deal for 100 planes.

Alan Stephenson Boyd was born in Jacksonville, Fla., on July 20, 1922, to Clarence and Elizabeth (Stephenson) Boyd. His maternal great-grandfather, John Stephenson, had patented the first streetcar on rails in America, a horse-drawn coach that began operations in Manhattan in 1832.

Clarence Boyd, an engineer for the Florida Highway Department, died when Alan was 2. Ms. Boyd, Alan and his sister, Jean, lived with aunts and uncles until their mother married Walter Dopson, a lawyer for Seaboard Air Line Railroad.

Alan graduated from Macclenny-Glen High School (now Baker County High School) in northeast Florida in 1939. He enrolled at the University of Florida but flunked out at the end of his second year. He joined the Army Air Forces after the United States had entered World War II.

In 1943, he married Flavil Townsend, a high school teacher. They had one son, Mark. Mr. Boyd’s wife died in 2007. Besides his son, he is survived by two grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

Mr. Boyd earned a law degree at the University of Virginia in 1948. He joined a Miami law firm whose senior partner was George A. Smathers, a two-term Democratic congressman who won a United States Senate seat in 1950. Mr. Boyd worked on the Smathers campaign.

A decade later, after he had become general counsel for the Florida State Turnpike Authority and chairman of the Florida Railroad and Public Utilities Commission, Mr. Boyd received a call from Senator Smathers in Washington. There was a vacancy on the Civil Aeronautics Board. Was he interested? He soon began his years in Washington.

Mr. Boyd, who retired in 1993, returned to Washington in 2017 for a celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Department of Transportation. He told a crowd of 500 dignitaries that soon after taking office in 1967, he had received a call from Henry Ford II, chief executive of Ford Motor at the time, who told him that American motorists didn’t want and would never use safety belts in their cars.

Jon Gibson, 80, Minimalist Saxophonist and Composer of Panoramic Span

By STEVE SMITH

Jon Gibson, a saxophonist and composer who played a foundational role in Minimalist music, died on Oct. 11 in Springfield, Mass. He was 80.

The cause was complications of a brain tumor, said his son, Jeremy Gibson, a musician with whom he frequently collaborated.

Jon Gibson, who also played flute and keyboards, was best known as a member of the Philip Glass Ensemble from its founding in 1968 until last year. He participated in the first performances of watershed Glass works like “Music in Twelve Parts” and “Einstein on the Beach” and performed with Mr. Glass around the world until health problems prompted his departure in 2019. His mastery of circular breathing and other techniques made him a crucial asset to the development of Mr. Glass’s sound.

“His technical abilities were beyond what anyone else was able to do,” Mr. Glass said in a phone interview, “and he brought everyone else around him up to his level. He was very gentle with everyone, and very generous.” Without Mr. Gibson, Mr. Glass added, “the music wouldn’t have grown in a certain way that it could grow.”

Mr. Gibson collaborated as well with the other three composers now recognized for establishing Minimalist music in the United States: He participated in the world premieres of Terry Riley’s “In C” and Steve Reich’s “Drumming,” and he was briefly a member of La Monte Young’s Theater of Eternal Music. An inveterate and eager collaborator, Mr. Gibson also worked with composers who had little or no connection to Minimalism, including Christian Wolff, Robert Ashley and Annea Lockwood.

As a composer, he pursued a panoramic span of disciplines, from unaccompanied saxophone

performance and tape collage to fully staged opera. His most ambitious creations include “Voyage of the Beagle,” a music theater piece about Charles Darwin, which Mr. Gibson created with the director JoAnne Akalaitis from 1983 to 1987; and “Violet Fire,” an opera about the inventor Nikola Tesla, which was introduced in Belgrade

His works were called ‘boundless, serpentine and weightless.’

in 2006 and staged at the Brooklyn Academy of Music the same year.

Dance was a constant interest for Mr. Gibson, who married an esteemed choreographer, dancer and teacher, Nancy Topf, in 1973. (She died in 1998 in a plane crash.) Mr. Gibson created works with her and with other renowned choreographers, including Merce Cunningham. A collaboration with Lucinda Childs produced several significant creations, including “Relative Calm,” an evening-length piece with lighting design by Robert Wilson, mounted at BAM in 1981.

Mr. Gibson’s own music reflected the economy of means and materials, and the frequent use of smooth, steady rhythms, common to the most prominent Minimalists. His compositions reflected the influence of visual art, including his own gridlike designs, and employed numerical permutations that he likened to those used in 17th-century English cathedral music.

Works like “Visitations” showed a looseness rooted in improvisation, reflecting Mr. Gibson’s enduring interest in jazz and



PETER MOORE

Jon Gibson in 1968. He joined the Philip Glass Ensemble that year and became a key member.

Indian music. The gentle, organic murmurings of that piece, which employed recorded environmental sounds, made an impression among New Age devotees.

His music, the composer Britton Powell wrote in the introduction to an interview he conducted with Mr. Gibson for Bomb magazine, “evokes a sense of uncharted exoticism that invites the listener to spin the compass and follow.”

“His phrasing and textures,” he added, “float like smoke in the air — boundless, serpentine and weightless.”

Jon Charles Gibson was born in Los Angeles on March 11, 1940, to Charles and Muriel (Taylor) Gibson, both educators. He grew up in El Monte, a suburb. He pursued visual art starting in childhood,

and an early interest in jazz performers like Paul Desmond, Chet Baker and Gerry Mulligan led him to take up the saxophone.

After his family relocated to Northern California, Mr. Gibson studied at Sacramento State University. He earned a bachelor’s degree at San Francisco State College (now San Francisco State University) in 1964.

At the University of California, Davis, he pursued a growing interest in avant-garde composers like John Cage and Karlheinz Stockhausen. He helped form an improvising group, the New Music Ensemble, which recorded two albums.

Moving to San Francisco, Mr. Gibson collaborated with Mr. Reich and Mr. Riley and came into

contact with other Bay Area luminaries like Pauline Oliveros and Phil Lesh. He honed his jazz skills by studying with the saxophonist John Handy, and he studied South Indian vocal music at the Ali Akbar College of Music.

Mr. Gibson went to New York in 1966, and there Mr. Riley introduced him to Mr. Young; the two would work together until 1970. Mr. Gibson also resumed his collaboration with Mr. Reich, who wrote “Reed Phase” for him; it was Mr. Reich’s first piece applying phasing techniques to live performance.

Mr. Glass, after arriving in New York from Paris in 1967, was introduced to Mr. Gibson by Mr. Reich. Mr. Glass promptly recruited him for his new ensemble, sparking a

partnership that would endure for more than a half-century.

Although he was steadily engaged with the Glass ensemble, Mr. Gibson presented his own music in New York throughout the 1970s, playing with fellow performing composers like Barbara Benary, Julius Eastman and Petr Kotik, as well as promising newcomers like the cellist Arthur Russell and the percussionist David Van Tieghem. “Songs & Melodies, 1973-1977,” an anthology of archival recordings recently issued on Superior Viaduct, offers a concise overview of Mr. Gibson’s sound during this vital period.

He married Cornelia (Nina) Winthrop in 2018. In addition to his son, she survives him, as does a sister, Luann Gibson Davis. He lived in the TriBeCa neighborhood of Manhattan.

Mr. Gibson’s oeuvre has been well served on recordings, including releases on three labels established by Mr. Glass: Chatham Square, Point Music and Orange Mountain Music. Recent reissues of his earliest music have helped to raise his profile for new listeners. So, too, did performances of “Visitations” in the United States and Europe in 2016 and 2017, for which Britton Powell assembled an ensemble that included Mr. Gibson’s son and members of the inventive electronic music group Forma.

“That was not an easy tour, by any standard,” Mr. Powell said in a phone interview. “We would play until 11 o’clock, have drinks until midnight, and then lobby call would be 4:30, 5 in the morning. He’d come out for drinks with us, and then we’d be hustling to the airport and he’d be running up the tarmac with us.

“That’s how spirited he was, how interested he was in sharing his music and the experience.”

Bess Abell, 87, Deft Social Secretary In Johnson's White House, Is Dead

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

Bess Abell, the White House social secretary during President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration, was code-named "Iron Butterfly." She had a light touch and exuded charm and warmth, but she was organized, efficient and tough as nails.

She always lived up to her code name. One evening, as an important dinner was underway, the wife of a recently defeated senator complained to Ms. Abell that she had put her next to a man who had been a major donor to her husband's opponent.

"I understood how she felt," Ms. Abell, who had drawn up the seating chart, later recalled. "But I just said: 'Now look, they're coming down the hall. What do you want to do? Do you want to get sick and drop out? I can move you someplace else, but somebody will want to know why. Why don't you be a good sport about it?'" And she was.

Averting last-minute crises is part of the unwritten job description of a social secretary, one of the most crucial but unsung roles in any White House. By all accounts, Ms. Abell, who had grown up in a political household and had learned the art of quick-thinking compromise at her father's knee, was built for the job, carried it out in style and had a good time doing it.

She was 87 when she died on Oct. 9 at a family home in Potosi, Md. The cause was complications of Alzheimer's disease, said her husband, Tyler Abell, who served as Johnson's chief of protocol.

Ms. Abell's skills were called on early in the Johnson presidency. On Dec. 23, 1963, after the White House had ended its official monthlong period of mourning the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Johnson decided to invite every member of Congress to a party — that night. Within hours Ms. Abell had the black crepe re-

moved, party decorations in place and food ready for 1,000 guests.

One of her many duties was to mollify Senator Strom Thurmond, the Republican segregationist from South Carolina, so that he wouldn't sabotage Johnson's civil rights agenda. That meant being patient with Mr. Thurmond's habit of bringing uninvited dates to White House events.

"When he would show up with Miss Pecan Princess or the Queen of the Watermelon Festival, I'd always find a seat for her," Ms. Abell told Vanity Fair in 2010. "I'd roll

An 'Iron Butterfly' whose influence went beyond seating charts.

over and play dead for Strom Thurmond. He could cause the president a lot of problems, so I didn't want to make him mad."

Ms. Abell's influence extended far beyond seating charts. She was a chief organizer of Lady Bird Johnson's biggest political coup, a four-day whistle-stop trip on a train called the Lady Bird Special that toured the South before the 1964 election.

Several Southern states were seething over the president's signing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which eliminated Jim Crow laws, and Democratic strategists were worried that the party would lose the old Confederacy for at least a generation. The train trip was meant to reassure Southerners that the president and Mrs. Johnson cared about their concerns.

"Bess transformed an old wreck of a train car, named 'The Queen Mary,' into the colorful Lady Bird Special," Terry Birdwhistell and Donald A. Ritchie write in a forthcoming book, "The Iron Butterfly: An Oral History of

Bess Clements Abell in the Johnson White House."

"Beyond redecorating," the authors add, "she choreographed the journey, organizing volunteers, recruiting entertainers, dispersing the many bouquets of flowers bestowed upon them, and planning different Southern dishes for each state."

The trip generated positive press coverage and dominated television news for four days. In the end, Johnson lost five Southern states (plus Arizona) but won re-election in a landslide.

All administrations have their own set of circumstances to deal with. The Johnson White House faced constant protests against the Vietnam War, leading Ms. Abell to try to create a sense of tranquility within. Because ballet dancers were less overtly political than other performers, she booked an increasing number of them for White House appearances.

Her other tasks included organizing Lynda Bird Johnson's 1967 White House wedding to Chuck Robb and Luci Baines Johnson's 1966 White House reception after her church wedding to Patrick Nugent.

In Luci's case, the bride had picked out a dress designed by Priscilla of Boston, a nonunion shop, and the choice drew the wrath of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, staunch supporters of the president. After Ms. Abell discussed the situation with Priscilla, Priscilla had a similar dress made by a nearby union shop and sent both to Ms. Abell. Ms. Abell then cut the union label out of the second dress and sewed it into Priscilla's, according to the forthcoming book. Ms. Abell justified the ruse by noting that brides were supposed to wear "something borrowed."

That whole experience, Ms. Abell often said, left her with "no regrets" about her own marriage: She had eloped.

Elizabeth Hughes Clements was born on June 2, 1933, in Evansville, Ind., and grew up in Morganfield, Ky. She absorbed much about politics from traipsing around with her father, Earle Chester Clements, who became a member of the House of Representatives, the governor of Kentucky and a United States senator. From her mother, Sara (Blue) Clements, who was the postmaster in Morganfield, she learned about social etiquette by making place cards when her mother's friends came over for bridge.

Bess went to boarding school in Nashville, then studied at the University of Kentucky, where she majored in political science and graduated in 1954.

She had met Tyler Abell, a young lawyer and the stepson of Drew Pearson, the nationally syndicated columnist, briefly at the Kentucky Derby in 1950. When they were reintroduced four years



UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL



PHOTOQUEST/GETTY IMAGES

Bess Abell, above in 1968 inspecting the White House china and left with Lady Bird Johnson, who said she admired her "quiet competence and aggressive persistence."

the shadow of the Kennedys' Camelot," Mr. Birdwhistell and Mr. Ritchie write.

Johnson appointed Mr. Abell the United States chief of protocol in 1968. (He had been the assistant postmaster general.) Mr. Abell would oversee State Department entertaining and coordinate visits by foreign heads of state. The appointment made him and Ms. Abell the first husband-and-wife team to hold the two main social positions in official Washington.

"Between them," The New York Times said at the time, "they will be the final arbiters on correct protocol and entertaining in a capital that is acutely sensitive to both."

After the Johnson years, Ms. Abell became chief of staff to Joan Mondale, the wife of Vice President Walter F. Mondale during the Carter administration. She also established Bess Abell Enterprises, a public relations firm in Washington, which specialized in book parties and fund-raising events.

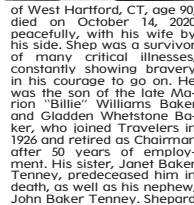
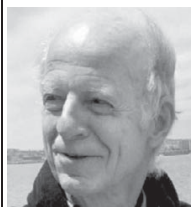
In addition to her husband, Ms. Abell is survived by her sons, Dan Tyler Abell and Lyndon Abell; four grandchildren; and a great-granddaughter.

Mr. Abell said that after their first son was born, Johnson, who was a senator then, told them that if they had named him Lyndon, he would have given them a heifer. They decided they would name their next child Lyndon, whether it was a boy or girl. When Lyndon was born, they received that heifer, which stayed at the LBJ Ranch in Texas.



MICHAEL TEMCHINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ms. Abell, center, at a reunion of White House staff in 2011, on the 50th anniversary of President Kennedy's inauguration.

Deaths	Deaths	Deaths	Deaths	Deaths	Deaths	Deaths					
BAKER—Shepard W.,  of West Hartford, CT, age 90, died on October 14, 2020 peacefully, with his wife by his side. Shep was a survivor of many critical illnesses, constantly showing bravery in his courage to go on. He was the son of the late Marion "Billie" Williams Baker and Gladden Whetstone Baker, who joined Travelers in 1926 and retired as Chairman after 50 years of employment. His sister, Janet Baker Tenney, predeceased him in death, as well as his nephew, John Baker Tenney. Shep leaves his beloved wife Beverly Ann Buckner-Baker, formerly of New York City, Brooklyn, and Rye, New York. He is also survived by his sister's daughters, our most loving nieces Eleanor Tenney Miller of Bland and Vienna, VA and Elizabeth I Tenney, of Collegeville, PA. He also has shared a loving relationship with many cousins and friends worldwide. Together with Beverly, Shep treasured our family members: Amy and Chad Ritchie, along with their daughter Courtney and her sons, Eoson and Beckett of Sarasota, Florida. Shepard was born in 1930, in West Hartford and graduated from Kingswood School (now Kingswood - Oxford) with Class of 1947, Member of the Hall of Fame, Captain Of the Undeclared Football Team 1947, Senior Prefect and the Editor of the Kingswood News. Upon graduation from Kingswood, Shep entered Yale at the age	of 16 and graduated in the great class of 1951. During that time, he was a devoted participant in athletics and he was the Senior Editor of the Yale Daily News. He went on to attend Harvard Business School and graduated with an MBA in 1953. Graduating early in order to start the four month Program for Naval Officers Training School in Newport, RI, he became an Ensign in Naval Air Intelligence in 1953 during the Korean War. He served three and a half years in Naval Air Intelligence in Guam, the Philippines and San Diego before being honorably discharged as a Lieutenant in 1956. In 1956 He joined the firm of Morgan Stanley & Co. Investment Bankers, mostly in New York City and moved onto international Corporate Finance, Paris, London, and Montreal. Shep was diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's Lymphoma in 1985 and after remission for seven years, he was again diagnosed with Cancer and in 1993 he underwent an autologous bone marrow transplant with the assistance of Dr. Morton Clon and Dr. Michael Schuster of New York Hospital. This procedure was successful, but had many drawbacks for the physical activities that Shep loved, tennis, squash and golf. He was the most modest and kind gentlemen. As many would say "Shep wore his Yale tee shirt inside out". He cared deeply about others and was an intent listener. In 2005 he returned to the Baker Family Homestead in West Hartford, CT with his wife Beverly. He was a member of The Union Club for over 40 years, The Maidstone Club for 40 years, The Mill Reef Club for 35 years, Coral Beach Club for 40 years, and most importantly The Hartford Golf Club for over 60 years. His membership at Asylum Hill Church was for 80 years. Services and Burial will be private at Asylum Hill Church and Fairview Cemetery	21, 2020. In lieu of flowers, donations in his name can be made to Kingswood Oxford School, 170 Kingswood Rd., West Hartford, CT, 06119, or First Tee Connecticut, 55 Golf Club Road, Cromwell, CT 06416. Services are being handled by The Ahern Funeral Homes, Inc. To send online condolences to the family, please visit ahernfuneralhome.com .	spent seven years with the Warner Lambert Company as Vice President of HR for Parke Davis NA and later head of HR for the global pharmaceutical division. After retiring, she founded Bethrine Consulting, where she provided executive coaching to newly appointed business leaders on transition leadership. An avid golfer, she was a one-of-a-kind woman and a positive role model, living her life with spontaneity and grace. She holds a M.A. in Sociology from Boston College and a BA from Cushing College. Ms. Cunningham was predeceased by her husband, Robert J. Gagnon, in 2012. She is survived by her daughters and their spouses Elizabeth Gagnon Phelanikar and Rahul Phalanikar, Princeton, NJ and Katherine H. Gagnon and Brian J. Leistman, Stamford, CT and her granddaughter Eleanor Gagnon Phalanikar. She is also survived by her sisters Suzanne Bangston, Kiawah Island, SC and Maureen Cunningham, Pelham, NY and brothers Thomas Cunningham, Huntington, NY and Timothy Cunningham, Panama City, Panama as well as their families. She was predeceased by her sister Lisa Cunningham, Delray Beach, FL. The family is holding a private ceremony in Bridgehampton, NY. In lieu of flowers, donations to Memorial Sloan Kettering Breast Center, Medical Director's Fund, P.O. Box 27106, New York, NY 10087 in her memory, would be most appreciated.	Beach and her deceased mother, Ethel Feinberg, immigrated from Romania. Dr. Goldman is survived by her husband of 22 years, Eric Schneider, two sisters, Judy Feinberg and Carol Feinberg, two daughters, Robin Fitzgerald and Dr. Julie Meriman, and four grandchildren, Jake, Chase, Eli and Paige.	KARETZKY—Monroe, MD.  1938-2020 Dr. Monroe Karetzky passed on Friday, October 16 at his home surrounded by his loving family. A rabunctious child, born in Brooklyvn to his doting physician father Alexander and encouraging mother, Florence, he was a widely renowned and respected pulmonary physician and academic professor who was dedicated to public service. A recognized scholar of pulmonary and sleep medicine with nearly a hundred publications and a textbook on Pneumonia, he ran the ICU, Pulmonary and Sleep Centers and established the fellowship and residency programs at Newarck Beth Israel for 30 years. Until recently, he pursued private practice in the Bronx and in Englewood, N.J. Dr. Karetzky was a graduate of Cornell University and Cornell Medical School, with an internship, residency and fellowship at Bassett Hospital, Cooperstown, NY. During the Vietnam war, he served as a captain in the Air Force as a research physician. An assistant professor at Dartmouth and Albert Einstein Medical	schools, an associate academic professor at Rutgers Medical School and New Jersey Medical School, he had board certification in Internal Medicine, Sleep, Pulmonary, Critical Care, Geriatric Medicine. His work and research were his passions, and he was beloved by both his students and his patients for his knowledge, compassion and sense of humor. Scholarly, generous, uncompromising, loving, modest, supportive and strong to the end, he is survived by his devoted wife Patricia of 48 years, children Laura, Sarah, Evan, Alexis, eight grandchildren and his elder sister Carol Kossor and her husband Bernie.	KURTIS—Lawrence The Officers and Members of Old Oaks Country Club mourn the passing of dear friend and fellow member, Lawrence Kurtis. Our heartfelt sympathy is extended to his entire family. Joshua Polan, President	PERLINSKI—Witold.  Witold Stanley Perlinski passed away peacefully on October 14, 2020. Witold was born November 1, 1940 in Lodz, Poland during WWII to the late Stanley and Wanda (Frankowska) Perlinski. He received a Bachelor's Degree in Chemistry and a Master's Degree in Chemical Engineering from Lodz Polytechnic Institute. Witold immigrated to the U.S. in 1968. A retired chemist for R Tare Corporation, Witold worked with adhesives and tapes as	Baker, Shepard Benguiat, Ed Cunningham, Sally	Goldman, Gail Karetzky, Monroe Kurtis, Lawrence	Perlinski, Witold Ralston, Peter
Chief Technical Officer. Witold also worked at National Starch and Chemical Corporation. During his tenure there, Witold proudly achieved six patents, including his most prominent one for developing the chemical structure of FunTak. Witold enjoyed reading WWII espionage novels, and discussing politics and world history. Up for any adventure, Witold enjoyed traveling the world. The sun made him smile. He loved swimming, seafood, and scotch all while listening to the blues. Witold is survived by his wife of fifty-three years, Deanna (Magda) Perlinski; his son Gerald and his wife Rachel; and daughter Alicia Michaux and her husband Stephen. He also leaves behind two grandchildren, Alexander and Brandon; and three siblings, Adam and wife Marielena, Pawel and wife Grazyna and Elizabeth Lykowska. Visit MiddlesexFuneralHome.com to send condolences to the Perlinski family.	RALSTON—Peter Alan,  84, passed away peacefully on October 17, cradled by the love and care of his family. He was truly adored for a lifetime by Susan Ralston (nee Dwoertz), his wife of 60 years, by his beloved children Robert Rollins and Laura Marlin, and by his cherished grandchildren Alex and Lucy Rollins and Julia and Eddie Marlin. He was "the fairest of men." He loved art, theater, ballet, the great outdoors, learning about everything, good conversation, connecting with children and, indeed, with people of all ages. He cared deeply; he was humble and kind and never pretentious. Everyone who encountered him was warmed and delighted by his boundless curiosity, impeccable integrity, and playful sense of humor. Now remembered with great affection by a host of relatives and friends, he would be moved to know that contributions to the Central Park Conservancy were made in his honor.										
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Opinion

The New York Times

MICHELLE GOLDBERG

Is the Trump Campaign Colluding Again?

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT last month imposed sanctions on four people linked to Russia for attempting to influence the presidential election, including a Ukrainian parliamentarian named Andriy Derkach, who has worked closely with Donald Trump’s consigliere Rudy Giuliani in attempting to smear Joe Biden. According to the Treasury, Derkach has been “an active Russian agent for over a decade, maintaining close connections with the Russian intelligence services.”

The Treasury said Derkach had worked covertly to cultivate “false and unsubstantiated narratives concerning U.S. officials in the upcoming 2020 presidential election” — an obvious reference to Biden. Derkach had released “edited audiotapes and other unsupported information” and managed to push his “unsubstantiated narratives” into Western media.

According to The Washington Post, U.S. intelligence agencies warned the White House last year that Giuliani, then searching in Ukraine for dirt about Biden and his son Hunter, was the target of a Russian influence operation. “The Russians have been cultivating Rudy Giuliani as an asset for over a year,” Chris Murphy, a Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told me. “Any information proffered by Rudy Giuliani is likely compromised.”

That, of course, did not stop The New York Post from publishing a series of

Giuliani’s dirty tricks are the scandal, not Hunter Biden’s hard drive.

breathless articles about Hunter Biden purportedly based on a hard drive that fell into Giuliani’s hands. Some of the stories — like one about Hunter’s anguished texts to his father from rehab — seem intended to wound Joe Biden by humiliating his child. Others were meant to resurrect the discredited accusation that Joe Biden pressed for the firing of a Ukrainian prosecutor to help Burisma, an energy company that had Hunter Biden on its board.

So far, the Hunter Biden laptop affair is a farcical retreat of the Russian hack-and-leak operation that helped torpedo Hillary Clinton’s presidential aspirations in 2016. Now, as then, the Trump campaign appears to be hoping that the media will dribble out stolen private messages

BRET STEPHENS

The Encroachment of the Unsayable

IN JANUARY, in what now seems like a bygone age, the writer George Packer delivered a memorable speech, “The Enemies of Writing,” for the honor of winning the Hitchens Prize. “Why is a career like that of Christopher Hitchens not only unlikely but almost unimaginable?” Packer asked. “Put another way: Why is the current atmosphere inhospitable to it? What are the enemies of writing today?”

For a sense of what Packer meant, consider that in 2007 Hitchens wrote — and Vanity Fair published — an essay titled, “Why Women Aren’t Funny.” It was outlandish, but also learned, and maybe not entirely serious. Imagine that ever running today, in Vanity Fair or any other mainstream publication. Or take another Hitchens column from the same year, in which he called Islam “simultaneously the ideology of insurgent violence *and* of certain inflexible dictatorships.” Try finding a line like that today in Slate, where it first appeared.

What these examples show, and what Packer brilliantly captures in his speech, is what might be called the encroachment of the unsayable. It’s an encroachment that, in its modern form, began with the Ayatollah Khomeini’s 1989 *fatwa* against Salman Rushdie for the publication of “The Satanic Verses,” which was deemed blasphemous. In short order, the world got to see who in the liberal world really had the courage of liberalism’s supposedly deepest convictions.

Since that episode — which resulted in nearly a decade of hiding for Rushdie,



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

over the final weeks of the campaign, creating an illusion of scandal where none exists. And now, as then, someone in Trump’s inner circle is working directly with someone who is, at least according to the U.S. government, a Russian agent.

Since The New York Post began publishing its Hunter Biden articles, there’s been an escalating chorus of conservative whining about the mainstream media’s refusal to pick up its reporting. “Media avoiding The Post’s Hunter Biden stories as much as Joe,” says the headline on a self-pitying Post column.

Most reputable reporters aren’t taking the bait; Giuliani’s trove is just too sketchy. As The New York Times reported, the journalist who wrote one of The Post’s big Hunter Biden stories refused to put his byline on it out of concerns about the credibility of the underlying information. Mediaite reported that Giuliani initially offered the data to Fox News, but “the news division chose not to run the story unless or until the sourcing and veracity of the emails could be properly vetted.”

The provenance of the alleged hard drive is murky, and the F.B.I. is reportedly investigating whether it’s linked to a foreign disinformation campaign. Giuliani claims his lawyer got it from a Delaware computer repair shop owner, John Paul Mac Isaac, who says someone he thinks was Hunter Biden dropped off three laptops and never picked them up. Mac Isaac gave a halting interview to several journalists last week; The Daily Beast published the audio, so you can hear for yourself as his story shifts over the course of

an hour.

If there’s an important story here, it’s almost certainly about Giuliani’s dirty tricks, not any wrongdoing by Joe Biden. Reporting on disinformation is complicated, because it’s hard to write about it without amplifying it. Still, this episode distills just how far Trump has dragged the country down in four years.

In 2016, the public didn’t know that Paul Manafort, Trump’s former campaign chairman, was passing polling data to someone tied to the Russian intelligence directorate — such a revelation would have been devastating. Giuliani’s relationship with Derkach, by contrast, is out in the open.

Last week Giuliani told The Daily Beast he thinks there’s only a 50 percent chance that his Ukrainian collaborator is really a Russian spy, and that it wouldn’t matter to him if his Hunter Biden material was linked to Russian hacking. This barely made a ripple. “It’s collusion in broad daylight,” said Murphy.

Giuliani probably can’t sabotage Biden the way WikiLeaks sabotaged Clinton. The Clinton leak was damaging because many voters already believed there was something sinister about her hidden emails. Burisma never stuck to Biden in the same way, so there’s less payoff in forcing it back into the news.

But Giuliani’s tactics aren’t any less foul for being ineffective. It’s hardly surprising that the president’s bottom-feeding lawyer has shown himself open to working with Russian intelligence. It’s striking, though, that no one expects better. □

some members of PEN America protested the choice because the slain cartoonists had poked fun at the beliefs of a “marginalized, embattled and victimized” minority.

The upshot of these controversies has been a kind of default to a middle position that goes roughly as follows: Fanatics shouldn’t kill people, and writers and artists shouldn’t needlessly offend fanatics. It’s a compromise that is fatal to liberalism. It reintroduces a concept of blasphemy into the liberal social order. It gives the prospectively insulted a *de facto* veto over what other people might say. It accustoms the public to an ever-narrower range of permissible speech and acceptable thought.

And, as Packer notes, it slowly but surely turns writers, editors and publishers into cowards. Notice, for instance, that I have just described the suspect in Paty’s murder as a “Chechen.” Why? Because it’s accurate enough, and it’s not worth dealing with the choice and precision of a single adjective.

It isn’t entirely clear whether there’s a causal connection between the way so many Western liberals have tried to dance around the subject of religious fanaticism and other encroachments on socially acceptable speech. But the two have moved in tandem, with equally destructive results. Our compromised liberalism has left a generation of writers weighing their every word for fear that a wrong one could wreck their professional lives. The result is safer, but also more timid; more correct, but also less interesting. It is simultaneously bad for those who write, and boring for those who read. It is as deadly an enemy of writing as has ever been devised.

In his speech, Packer notes that good writing is “essential to democracy, and one dies with the other.” The corollary to this thought this is that the more some ideas become undiscussable, the more some things become unsayable, the more difficult it becomes to write well. We are killing democracy one weak verb, blurred analogy and deleted sentence at a time.

I should be more precise. When I say “we,” I don’t mean normal people who haven’t been trained in the art of never saying what they really think. I mean those of us who are supposed to be the gatekeepers of what was once a robust and confident liberal culture that believed the value of clear expression and bold argument. This is a culture that has been losing its nerve for 30 years. As we go, so does the rest of democracy. □

LETTERS

The Times’s Indictment of Trump

TO THE EDITOR:

“End Our National Crisis” (editorial, Sunday Review, Oct. 18) echoes the Declaration of Independence, our country’s founding document, in style, form and substance. It offers a clear statement of purpose; a call to our past; a list of grievances; and a solution. This time, however, we are called on to vote, not take up arms to defend our right to self-government.

Your unwavering, cogent and patriotic argument to vote President Trump out of office should inspire all of us to stand up for ourselves and save ourselves, once again.

JANE GEE, JENKINTOWN, PA.

TO THE EDITOR:

I hear many people say “we are better than this.” Not true. The N.F.L. coach Bill Parcells said, “You are what your record says you are.” Donald Trump’s America is what we are today. He has the support of over 40 percent of our people. We need to vote this disgraceful individual out of office, but then we need to reflect on what type of country we are and want to become.

BRAD MAZARIN, BLOOMFIELD, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

This is how Donald Trump won in 2016: wall-to-wall Trump coverage. This week’s Sunday Review is all Trump and nothing Biden. Exactly what Mr. Trump wants, any coverage at all, good or bad.

I do recognize that The Times provided in-depth articles about Joe Biden in the main news section and that the Sunday Review about Mr. Trump was brutally honest (well done!). Yet having the side-by-side comparisons of Mr. Trump vs. Mr. Biden would possibly have provided a better strategy to persuade those voters still on the fence to vote Biden-Harris.

Most mainstream print and television media have yet to learn that the never-ending stream of Trump coverage rallies his supporters regardless of the tone or focus of the coverage. If the tone is negative Mr. Trump’s base rallies in defense; if the tone is positive, the base smugly reckons how right they are.

DOUGLAS COWGILL, FORT LEE, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

Donald Trump is not a good politician. He occasionally misspeaks or is too blunt and unpresidential. I’ll be 69 years old in January and never imagined we’d have such a president in my lifetime. In 2016, I decided to take a chance because Mr. Trump was not part of the “establishment” and I felt we had nothing to lose. The past few ad-

ministrations have been disappointing and less than totally honest with the people.

I find that Mr. Trump honestly connects with us the people more than any other president since Ronald Reagan. He has done much that was beneficial for the country, with little positive coverage from the media and despite considerable obstruction. When he speaks, he speaks to us, not over our heads in platitudes or political speak. He produces results and runs the country well.

There is nobody like him on the ballot or on the horizon. He is exactly what our country needs at this moment in our history. I (along with the vast majority of Americans) hope and pray for the betterment of every single person of every race, color or creed in our country.

I am voting for Donald Trump in person on Nov. 3.

JOHN L. SCHILLING
HARRISBURG, PA.

TO THE EDITOR:

Your editorial board package on Sunday gave me goose bumps of pride and gratitude. Talk about the Fourth Estate doing its job! It may not open one mind or heart, but you sure are trying.

JODIE GOLDBERG, LOUISVILLE, KY.

TO THE EDITOR:

After devoting an entire section of the Sunday Times to bashing Donald Trump, much of it justifiable, I think it only appropriate for the newspaper to be fair and balanced to devote next week’s section to articles by those who have a different point of view.

MENDY KWESTEL, FAIR LAWN, N.J.

TO THE EDITOR:

You provide a scathing assessment of the Trump presidency. Even viewed from the relative safety of Australia, your assessment is terrifyingly accurate! The world was shocked by Donald Trump’s election in 2016 and has looked on with increasing anxiety as the predictably chaotic course of his presidency has unfolded. The blatant lies, corruption and incompetence have been evident from Day 1, but the power of his allies in Fox News and his privileged power base have tried to mask this unfolding tragedy.

The world needs a strong and rational United States of America to lead it against the myriad challenges we currently face. Please, please deliver us from this nightmare and consign Mr. Trump and his mega-rich cronies to the backwaters of history!

TONY PRIESTLEY
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

Louis Farrakhan’s Long Record of Bigotry

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “The Women Behind the Million Man March,” by Natalie Hopkinson (Op-Ed, nytimes.com, Oct. 17):

It was deeply disturbing to read this account of Louis Farrakhan’s role in the 1995 Million Man March without any mention of his record of anti-Semitic, racist and homophobic remarks, which have long tainted his leadership of the Nation of Islam and continue to do so to this day.

In February 1995, just months before convening the march in Washington, Mr. Farrakhan suggested that it was Jews who got America into World War II and that “international bankers” (code words for Jews) financed both sides of the war effort.

Fast forward to the 23rd anniversary of the march in 2018 and Mr. Farrakhan was still at it, comparing Jews to vermin: “Call me a hater,

you know how they do — call me an anti-Semite. Stop it, I’m anti-terme.”

And this July he referred to Jews as “the enemy of God” and slandered prominent members of the community as “Satan.”

While Mr. Farrakhan may have created opportunities for women of color, his long and unapologetic record of hateful slurs and conspiratorial statements about Jews long ago cemented his status as a serial bigot.

When this type of hatred is ignored, it normalizes such intolerance and makes it more acceptable for others to hold such dangerous views. This cannot be omitted from any honest appraisal of him.

JONATHAN A. GREENBLATT
NEW YORK

The writer is chief executive and national director of the Anti-Defamation League.

Armenians Under Fire: Who Will Help?

TO THE EDITOR:

Re “Resignation and Despair Stoke Armenian Conflict” (front page, Oct. 19):

Your reporting on the escalating attacks on Armenians in the ethnic Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh filled me with dread.

Large-scale military action carried out by Azerbaijan with Turkey’s support, reports of human rights violations, and continued bombings on the civilian population in the capital suggest that for the first time since the Armenian genocide, the Armenian people face an existential threat. Whether or not the United States and Russia intervene to quell the violence has implications for vulnerable peoples around the world.

Hitler, when laying out his plan for mass annihilation, mused that history moves on from such atroci-

ties. Referring to the Armenian genocide by Ottoman Turks, he famously asked, “Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?”

For nearly 30 years Armenia has existed as a newly independent republic, and Armenian immigrants throughout the world — I among them — have spent decades and considerable resources to promote social, economic and humanitarian development to help Armenia revive and thrive. In a poor country already on its knees because of the pandemic, progress is unraveling.

Will America step in to prevent such an atrocity?

NOUBAR AFEYAN, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The writer is a co-founder of the Aurora Humanitarian Initiative and the chairman of Moderna.



KIRAN RIDLEY/GETTY IMAGES

A protester holding a sign memorializing a French teacher who was beheaded.

PAUL KRUGMAN

Why Biden Will Need to Spend Big

WHAT SHOULD Joe Biden's economic policy be if he wins (and Democrats take the Senate, so that he can actually pass legislation)? I'm pretty sure I know what his economists think he should do, but I'm not equally sure that everyone on his political team fully gets it, and I'm worried that the news media will experience sticker shock — that is, they may not be ready for the price tag on what he should and probably will propose.

So here's what everyone should understand: Given the current and likely future state of the U.S. economy, it's time to (a) spend a lot of money on the future and (b) *not* worry about where the money is coming from. For now, and for at least the next few years, large-scale deficit spending isn't just OK, it's the only responsible thing to do.

Today's column will be about the economics; I'll talk about the politics another day.

First things first: If Biden is inaugurated in January, he will inherit a nation still devastated by the coronavirus. Trump keeps saying that we're "rounding the corner," but the reality is that cases and hospitalizations are surging (and anyone expecting a lame-duck Trump administration to take effective action against the surge is living in a dream world.) And we won't be able to have a full economic recovery as long as the pandemic is still raging.

What this means is that it will be crucial to provide another round of large-scale fiscal relief, especially aid to the unemployed and to cash-strapped state and local governments. The main purpose of this relief will be humanitarian — helping families pay the rent and keep food on the table, helping cities and towns avoid devastating cuts in essential services. But it will also help avoid a downward economic spiral, by heading off a potential collapse in consumer and local government spending.

The need for big spending will not, however, end with the pandemic. We also need to invest in our future. After years of public underspending, America desperately needs to upgrade its infrastructure. In particular, we should be investing heavily in the transition to an environmentally sustainable economy. And we should also do much more to help children grow up to be healthy, productive adults; America spends shamefully little on aid to families compared with other wealthy countries.

But how can we pay for all this investment? Bad question.

You sometimes hear people saying that the government should be run like a business. That's a poor analogy in many ways.

The economic case for deficit spending is overwhelming.

But for what it's worth, think of what smart businesses do when they face great investment opportunities and have access to cheap capital: they raise a lot of money.

We've just seen that the U.S. government needs to invest large sums in the future. What about access to capital? The answer is that there's a global savings glut — the sums individuals want to save persistently exceed the sums businesses are willing to invest. And this situation — private savings all dressed up with nowhere to go — translates into extremely low government borrowing costs. In February, before the coronavirus sent us into recession, the average interest rate on long-term inflation-protected U.S. bonds was *minus 0.12 percent*. Yes, it was less than zero.

Under these conditions it would actually be irresponsible for the federal government *not* to engage in large-scale borrowing to invest in the future. But shouldn't we be worrying about running up more government debt? No.

When a government can borrow at low interest rates, and in particular when the interest rate on debt is well below the economy's long-run growth rate, debt just isn't a major problem. It doesn't pose any threat to the government's solvency; it doesn't in any meaningful way compete with private investment.

And just to be clear, I'm not pushing a radical, heterodox view here. At this point arguing for large-scale deficit spending and a relaxed attitude toward debt is entirely mainstream. You hear arguments along these lines from the former chief economist of the International Monetary Fund, centrist top economists from the Obama administration, and (discreetly) Jerome Powell, the chairman of the Federal Reserve.

Nonpartisan private-sector analysts are also remarkably high on the economics of Biden's spending proposals. Moody's Analytics predicts that real G.D.P. would be 4.5 percent higher under Biden's plan than under a continuation of Trump policies; Goldman Sachs says 3.7 percent. Neither is worried about the effects on debt.

So there's an overwhelming economic case for Biden — if he wins! — to go big on spending, first to get us through the pandemic he'll inherit, then to build a better future. But will politics get in the way?

It's a given that Republicans, who turned silent on deficits under Trump, will suddenly declare debt an existential threat with a Democrat in the White House. The real questions are whether centrists and the news media will buy into deficit hysteria, the way they did in the Obama years, and whether members of the Biden team will lose their nerve.

More on those risks in a future column.□

A New Weapon to Fight Election Meddling

Ellen L. Weintraub

AMONG many other recent developments not likely on anyone's 2020 bingo card, a Supreme Court decision about foreign aid and legalized prostitution has shattered perceived constraints on the authority of the United States to robustly defend its elections against foreign interference.

This summer, in *U.S. Agency for International Development v. Alliance for Open Society International*, the Supreme Court, in a 5-to-3 decision, with the majority opinion written by Justice Brett Kavanaugh, ruled that the U.S. government can compel overseas public health organizations that receive U.S. foreign aid to publicly oppose prostitution.

Yet Justice Kavanaugh's decree — that "foreign citizens outside U.S. territory do not possess rights under the U.S. Constitution" — is so expansive that it spills into election law, giving federal and state governments ample authority to defend us against the full range of foreign political warfare without fear of violating the First Amendment.

It is settled law that foreign citizens (and their organizations and governments) cannot make contributions to U.S. political campaigns, nor can they spend money on communications that expressly advocate for or against U.S. political candidates. But clever adversaries have found ways around these rules.

For instance, the "vast majority" of Russia's 2016 interference efforts on social media slyly didn't even mention candidates. As Facebook has explained, foreign actors instead were generally "amplifying divisive social and political messages across the ideological spectrum" — touching on controversial topics about race, immigration and guns.

Even the efforts that did relate to candidates weren't necessarily paid ads. Russia organized pro-Trump flash mobs in Florida and spent millions on a troll farm that set loose an army of propaganda-bearing bots on social-media platforms. Russia went so far as to organize both sides of a June 2016 protest at a mosque in Houston.

Intelligence experts warn that Russia's incursions are continuing in this election, with its digital foot soldiers setting up fake news sites and spreading false stories of hacked voter information to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the vote.

I've never thought this type of activity was protected by the First Amendment because I have long viewed the reach of the ban on political spending by foreigners to be broad. But some serious legal thinkers have lost sleep over whether a conservative Supreme Court would strike down aggressive efforts to limit such interference on free-speech grounds.

The source of this doubt was, ironically, a 2011 opinion written by Brett Kavanaugh when he was on the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals. In *Bluman v. Federal Election Commission*, Judge Kavanaugh upheld the federal law banning political spending by foreigners but speculated that the ban might not survive constitutional scrutiny if applied to anything but contributions to U.S. candidates or communications that expressly advocate for or against a candidate's election.

Now the Supreme Court has told us that the constitutional rights of foreign citizens outside U.S. territory cannot be violated because they have no constitutional rights to violate. Justice Kavanaugh heralded this lack of rights as a "bedrock legal prin-



T.J. KIRKPATRICK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A decision written by Justice Brett Kavanaugh offers a way to combat election interference.

ciple." (Though this comment did draw a sharp dissent from Justice Stephen Breyer, who wrote that the court had long avoided such a "sweeping assertion.")

Whether or not it was the law before, it is now, and the Supreme Court would be hard-pressed to walk back this paradigm-shifting ruling. The Supreme Court case, then, carries a double punch in election law.

First, it makes clear that those seeking to broaden protections against foreign election interference — including those of us on the Federal Election Commission — can move forward aggressively without running afoul of the First Amendment.

Second, the case has unlocked the full power of existing law. A Department of Justice interested in doing so could put this new rule of law to work immediately.

The key to this opinion's paradigm shift is its transformation of a term that doesn't even appear in the decision: "expenditure." (This result might surprise even Justice Kavanaugh.)

Federal law defines an expenditure as "any purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, made by any person for the purpose of influencing any election for federal office." If foreigners are barred from making such expenditures,

Back in 1976, the Supreme Court, in *Buckley v. Valeo*, confined the scope of the term "expenditure" to include only money spent on "communications that expressly advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate" — what became known as "express advocacy."

But the court did so specifically to protect "those who seek to exercise protected First Amendment rights." And, crucially,

A court case gives us an unexpected way to block Russian trolls.

Justice Kavanaugh's bold language in the *Alliance for Open Society* decision makes clear that foreign governments have no First Amendment rights in the first place.

The decision thus restores the term "expenditure" to its original sweep as to foreigners, meaning that the law bars not just aid spending aimed at influencing an election result, but any sort of spending that seeks to influence "any election for federal office" in any way.

Some in Congress had already been taking aim at this sort of influence, though

few would have predicted that Justice Kavanaugh would be the one to hit the bull's-eye. Take the PAID AD Act, which was introduced last year with bipartisan support in the House of Representatives. The bill would close loopholes that could allow foreign interests to purchase certain online and TV political ads. Justice Kavanaugh's opinion shifted the law so far that it turned everything PAID AD hoped to cover — and then some — into an already-prohibited foreign expenditure.

If Vladimir Putin, or any other foreign leader, would like to talk about American politics during a CNN interview, nothing's stopping him. But if he wants to spend money to influence our elections — by inflaming social divisions, sowing discord, hiring troll farms, hacking campaign computers, suppressing the vote, or by any other means — the legal basis for the government to respond more aggressively is now crystal clear.

Given everything we've learned since 2016 about the breathtaking and continuing extent of foreign attacks on American democracy, our government's response must be strong and unequivocal. And now there's no excuse for it not to be. □

ELLEN WEINTRAUB is a member of the Federal Election Commission.

The Steep Costs of 'Herd Immunity'

John M. Barry

NO MATTER their politics, people nearly always listen to those who say what they want to hear.

Hence, it is no surprise that the White House and several governors are now paying close attention to the "Great Barrington Declaration," written by a group of well-credentialed scientists who want to shift Covid-19 policy toward achieving herd immunity — the point at which enough people have become immune to the virus that its spread becomes unlikely.

They would do this by allowing "those who are at minimal risk of death to live their lives normally." This, they say, will allow people "to build up immunity to the virus through natural infection, while better protecting those who are at highest risk. We call this 'focused protection.'"

These academics are clearly a distinct minority. Most of their public health colleagues have condemned their proposal as unworkable and unethical — even as amounting to "mass murder," as William Haseltine, a former Harvard Medical School professor who now heads a global health foundation, put it to CNN last week.

But who is right?

The signers of the declaration do have a point. Restrictions seeking to limit deaths cause real harm, including stress on the economy, increases in domestic violence and drug abuse, and declines in cancer screenings. Those living alone suffer real pain from isolation, and the young have every reason to feel bitter over the loss of substantive education and what should have been memories of a high school prom or the bonding friendships that form in a college dorm at 2 a.m.

So the idea of returning to something akin to normal — releasing everyone from a kind of jail — is attractive, even seductive. It becomes less seductive when one examines three enormously important omissions in the declaration.

First, it makes no mention of harm to infected people in low-risk groups, yet many people with Covid-19 recover very

slowly. More serious, a significant number, including those with no symptoms, suffer damage to their heart and lungs. One recent study of 100 recovered adults found that 78 of them showed signs of heart damage. We have no idea whether this damage will cut years from their lives or affect their quality of life.

Second, it says little about how to protect the vulnerable. One can keep a child from visiting a grandparent in another city easily enough, but what happens when the child and grandparent live in the same household? And how do you protect a 25-year-old diabetic, or cancer survivor, or obese person, or anyone else with a comorbidity who needs to go to work every day? Upon closer examination, the "focused protection" that the declaration urges devolves into a kind of

An approach that could lead to a million or more preventable deaths.

three-card monte; one can't pin it down. Third, the declaration omits mention of how many people the policy would kill. It's a lot.

The Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation at the University of Washington, whose modeling of the pandemic the White House has used, predicts up to about 415,000 deaths by Feb. 1, even with current restrictions continuing. If these restrictions are simply eased — as opposed to eliminating them, which would occur if herd immunity were pursued — deaths could rise to as many as 571,527. That's just by Feb. 1. The model predicts daily deaths will still be *increasing* then.

Will we have achieved herd immunity then? No.

Herd immunity occurs when enough people have immunity either through natural infection or a vaccine so the outbreak eventually dies out. By Feb. 1, even with eased mandates, only 25 percent of the population will have been infected, by my calculations. The most optimistic model suggests herd immunity might occur when 43 percent of the population has been infected, but many estimate 60

percent to 70 percent before transmission trends definitively down.

Those are models. Actual data from prison populations and from Latin America suggest transmission does not slow down until 60 percent of the population is infected. (At present, only about 10 percent of the American population has been infected, according to the C.D.C.)

And what will be the cost? Even if herd immunity can be achieved with only 40 percent of the population infected or vaccinated, the health metrics institute estimates that a total of 800,000 Americans would die. The real death toll needed to reach herd immunity could far exceed one million.

As horrific a price as that is, it could prove much worse if damage to the heart, lungs or other organs of those who recover from the immediate effects of the virus does not heal and instead leads to early deaths or incapacitation. But we won't know that for years.

Some aftereffects of the 1918 influenza pandemic did not surface until the 1920s or later. For instance, children born during its peak in 1919 had worse health outcomes as they grew older, compared with others born around that time. There is speculation that the influenza caused a disease called encephalitis lethargica, which became almost epidemic in the 1920s and then later disappeared, and which affected patients in Oliver Sacks's book "Awakenings." Both the 1918 pandemic and other viruses have been linked to Parkinson's disease.

Proponents of herd immunity point to Sweden. Swedish officials deny having actively pursued that strategy, but they never shut down their economy or closed most schools, and they still haven't recommended masks. Its neighbors Denmark and Norway did.

Sweden's death rate per 100,000 people is five times Denmark's and 11 times Norway's. Did the deaths buy economic prosperity? No. Sweden's G.D.P. fell 8.3 percent in the second quarter, compared with Denmark's 6.8 percent and Norway's 5.1 percent.

Finally, the Great Barrington Declaration aims at a straw man, opposing the kind of large, general lockdown that began in March. No one is proposing that now.

Is there an alternative? There was once a simple one, which the vast majority of public health experts urged for months: social distancing, avoiding crowds, wearing masks, washing hands and a robust contact tracing system, with support for those who are asked to self-quarantine and for selected closures when and where necessary.

Some states listened to the advice and have done well, just as many schools listened and have reopened without seeing a surge. But the Trump administration and too many governors never got behind these measures, reopened too many states too soon, and still haven't straightened out testing.

Worse, the White House has all but embraced herd immunity and poisoned the public with misinformation, making it all but impossible to get near-universal compliance with public health advice for the foreseeable future.

As a result, the United States is not in a good place, and achieving near containment of the virus — as South Korea (441 deaths), Australia (904 deaths), Japan (1,657 deaths) and several other countries have done — is impossible. We can, however, still aim for results akin to those of Canada, where there were 23 deaths on Friday (on a per capita basis equal to about 210 here), and Germany, which suffered 24 deaths on Friday (equal to about 100 American deaths). In the United States, there were 909 deaths on Friday.

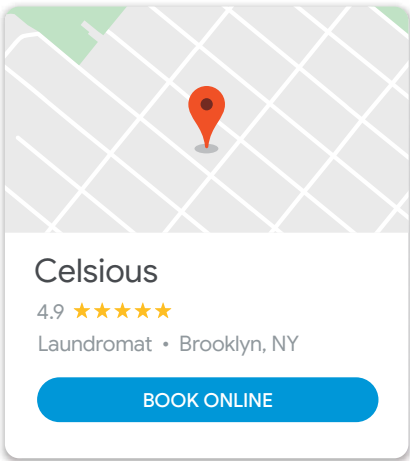
Getting to that point will require finally following the advice that has been given for months. That will not happen with this White House, especially since it is now all but openly advocating herd immunity, but states, cities and people can act for themselves.

Nothing, including monoclonal antibodies, rapid antigen testing or even a vaccine, will provide a silver bullet. But everything will help. And hundreds of thousands of Americans will keep living who would otherwise have died under a policy of herd immunity. □

JOHN M. BARRY is a professor at the Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine and the author of "The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History."



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When New York issued its stay-at-home order, Celsius founders Corinna and Theresa Williams knew they had to think of a new way of doing business. They quickly shifted to drop-offs only, and enabled online booking through Google. In addition to helping Celsius remain open, it also allowed them to set aside dedicated drop-off times for local first responders and the immunocompromised, helping keep these groups safe.



Oil Industry Scrambles To Survive Via Mergers

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

HOUSTON — The once mighty oil and gas industry is flailing, desperately trying to survive a pandemic that has sharply reduced demand for its products.

Most companies have cut back drilling, laid off workers and written off assets. Now some are seeking out merger and acquisition targets to reduce costs. ConocoPhillips announced on Monday that it was acquiring Concho Resources for \$9.7 billion, the biggest deal in the industry since oil prices collapsed in March.

\$45B

Level of shale oil investment this year, compared with \$100 billion in 2018 and 2019.

The acquisition, days after the completion of Chevron's takeover of Noble Energy, would create one of the country's biggest shale drillers and signals an accelerating industry consolidation as oil prices languish around \$40 a barrel, just above the levels many businesses need to break even. Just last month Devon Energy said it would buy WPX Energy for \$2.6 billion.

But many investors are not sure such deal making will be enough to protect the industry from a sharp decline. The share prices of ConocoPhillips and Concho closed down by about 3 percent on Monday. The big problem is that the

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Built to serve office workers, Pret A Manger pivots to reach them where they are now.

By ESHE NELSON

LONDON — If you stand outside the Bank underground station, in the heart of the financial center of Britain, and want to pick up a quick lunch, within about 10 minutes you can reach 25 Pret A Manger stores.

Pret, a 37-year-old British sandwich and coffee chain, became

ubiquitous in central London with the mantra “follow the skyscrapers,” serving up London’s harried office workers Posh Cheddar & Pickle baguettes and Classic Super Club sandwiches to eat at their keyboards.

This “is the basis of how we built Pret,” said Pano Christou, chief executive of the chain, which was

acquired by the food conglomerate JAB two years ago. It stretches to New York and Hong Kong, but its roots still run deep in London, home to more than 300 of its 533 stores worldwide. Over the years Pret (no one uses its full name, French for “ready to eat”) has seeped into Britain’s cultural life with traditions like its Christmas sandwich, part of an annual informal competition among the country’s lunch counters and supermarkets.

But in March, when the coronavirus emptied office buildings,

Pret’s chief executive, Pano Christou, entered this year leading an expansion. Now, he said, the company has closed some stores and laid off more than 3,000 people.

Pret’s customers vanished. Seven months later, they have barely returned. And what was Pret’s greatest advantage — its central London stronghold — has suddenly become its biggest weakness.

The pandemic has turned back the clock on Pret’s accounts by a

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

Nations Join To Scrutinize Money Trail Of U.S. Firm

By MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN and DAMIEN CAVE

Tax authorities from the United States and four other countries have joined forces to stop shadowy global money networks that use international borders to stymie local investigations.

Their first coordinated move against a target is not in some far-flung country. It is on U.S. soil.

A team of international investigators is scrutinizing Euro Pacific Bank, a boutique financial firm based in Puerto Rico, a joint collaboration by The Age, an Australian newspaper, the Australian version of “60 Minutes” and The New York Times found. A number of people accused or suspected of tax evasion and money laundering kept accounts at the bank, according to officials involved in the investigation. They want to know what role it may have played in helping them move money illegally.

While obscure, Euro Pacific has ties to some famous names in the financial world. It was founded by Peter Schiff, a well-known libertarian economist with a deep-seated animosity to paying taxes who earned the name Dr. Doom after correctly predicting the 2007-8 financial collapse. It also

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

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The Digest

MEDIA

Trailblazing Executive To Head Warner Bros.

Hollywood’s revolving door keeps spinning for top-level executives. Channing Dungey, right, will replace the longtime executive Peter Roth to become the chairwoman of the Warner Bros. television studio early next year, Warner Media announced on Monday.

Ms. Dungey, who became the first Black executive to run an entertainment division at a major network when she joined ABC in 2016, departing in 2018, will take control of one of the biggest television studios in the industry.

The Warner Bros. television studio makes hit programs shown on many networks, including “The Bachelor” (ABC), “Riverdale” (a show that aired on the CW and became more popular when it started streaming on Netflix) and “Young Sheldon” (CBS).

Under Ms. Dungey, Warner Bros. is also expected to be a big supplier to Warner Media’s five-month-old streaming platform, HBO Max.

“This is such an electric time in our industry, and we have so much opportunity available to us between Warner Bros.’ core businesses and HBO Max, I cannot



JORDAN STRAUSS/INVISION

wait to dive in,” Ms. Dungey said in a statement.

With her appointment, Ms. Dungey becomes one of the few Black executives in charge of a Hollywood television studio. Pearlana Igbokwe took over Universal’s television studio in 2016 and was given a broader portfolio last month, when she was named the head of NBCUniversal’s television studios.

Most recently, Ms. Dungey was the vice president of original series at Netflix, where she oversaw mostly drama series. She abruptly announced her departure on Oct. 9, and many in Hollywood presumed she would find her way to Warner Bros.

Mr. Roth announced his departure on Friday. JOHN KOBLIN

FINANCE

Fed Still Considering Issuing Digital Currency

Jerome H. Powell, the Federal Reserve chair, said the Fed is “carefully and thoughtfully” evaluating the costs and benefits of a United States central bank digital currency, but that it is not close to issuing one.

“We have not made a decision to issue” a central bank digital currency, Mr. Powell said, speaking Monday on a virtual International Monetary Fund panel about digital currencies and the future of cross-border payments. “We think there is a great deal of work yet to be done, as well as extensive public consultation to be had with all stakeholders, before making such a decision. The dollar is the world’s principal reserve currency.”

Mr. Powell’s colleague, Randal

K. Quarles, said last week that the Fed is studying digital currencies, but that it is too early to put a timeline on that work. As recently as 2017, Mr. Quarles had called digital coins “niche” and suggested that central bank digital currencies could pose major risks, such as cyberattacks.

But the Libra cryptocurrency project that Facebook backed ramped up attention around the potential benefits and risks of digital currency.

Working with the Bank for International Settlements — an organizing body for central banks — the Fed and a number of other leading central banks recently set principles for the standards any central bank’s digital currency must meet.

Mr. Powell said on Monday that it’s more important to “get it right than to be the first” to issue a global currency. JEANNA SMIALEK



S&P 500 INDEX
-1.63%
3,426.92



DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
-1.44%
28,195.42



NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
-1.65%
11,478.88



10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
0.78%
+0.02 points



CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
\$40.83
-\$0.05



GOLD (N.Y.)
\$1,906.40
+\$5.60

Stocks Close Lower as Stimulus Deadline Nears

By Reuters

NEW YORK — Wall Street’s main indexes closed lower on Monday as Washington lawmakers still appeared to struggle to reach an agreement on coronavirus stimulus ahead of a Tuesday deadline that would make a relief package possible ahead of the Nov. 3 elections.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said Sunday that in order to push through an agreement before the election, it would have to be settled on by Tuesday.

Ms. Pelosi and Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin “continued to narrow their differences” in conversations on Monday and Ms. Pelosi was hopeful that by the end of Tuesday there will be “clarity” on whether coronavirus stimulus is possible before Nov. 3 election, according to a spokesperson for Ms. Pelosi.

Investors were also worried about rising coronavirus cases in parts of the United States and about whether President Donald J. Trump might end up contesting the election results.

“The lack of news on stimulus is worrisome compounded by worsening virus trends and uncertainty ahead of the elections,” said Mona Mahajan, U.S. Investment Strategist, Allianz Global Investors, New York.

Last week, the White House proposed a \$1.8 trillion stimulus package that Ms. Pelosi rejected because it fell short of her demand for \$2.2 trillion in aid.

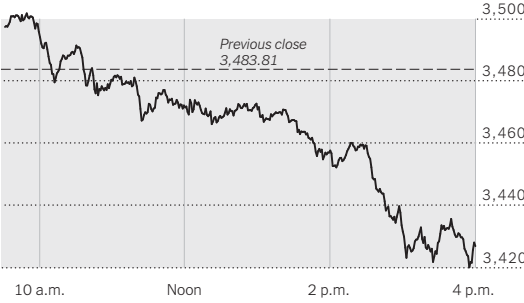
“There’s a decent case that regardless of who wins if stimulus doesn’t happen before the election it’ll happen afterward,” said Ms. Mahajan but she added, “with (virus) cases rising again stimulus will be important.”

As Wisconsin battled one of the worst coronavirus surges in the United States, a judge on Monday reinstated restrictions. In New Mexico, the governor warned that the state’s health care resources might not be sufficient if cases keep rising at the current pace.

The number of new COVID-19 cases in the United States last week rose 13 percent to more than 393,000, approaching levels last seen during a summer peak, according to a Reuters analysis.

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Monday.

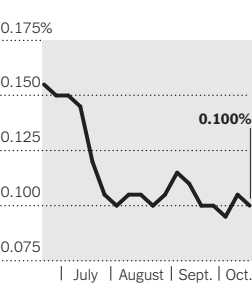


Source: Reuters

THE NEW YORK TIMES

3-Month Treasury Bills

High rate at weekly auction.



Source: The Bond Buyer

THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Dow Jones industrial average fell 410.89 points, or 1.44 percent to 28,195.42, the S&P 500 lost 56.89 points, or 1.63 percent, to 3,426.92 and the Nasdaq Composite dropped 192.67 points, or 1.65 percent, to 11,478.88.

All 11 major S&P industry sectors closed lower, with energy, down 2 percent, leading the percentage declines followed by the communication services index, down 1.9 percent. Only the defensive utilities sector, down 0.9 percent, finished with a decline of less than 1 percent.

High-flyers stocks Apple Inc, Microsoft Corp and Amazon.com all fell more than 2 percent and

created the biggest drags on the S&P 500.

Nearly 30 million Americans have cast early ballots, shattering records as voters adjust to the coronavirus pandemic, including in Florida, battleground state that on Monday opened polls to early voting.

The election is “weighing on investor sentiment a bit and maybe there’s incremental concern there will be a contested election,” according to Ms. Mahajan citing poll stabilization and betting odds reflecting higher expectations for a Trump win.

The Dow Jones Transport Average closed down 1 percent after reversing course late in the afternoon as hopes dimmed for stimulus deal during the session.

Still it outperformed the broader market as the U.S. Transportation Security Administration said it screened more than 1 million airline passengers on Sunday for the first time since mid-March.

After the financial sector set a mixed tone for the start of the third-quarter earnings season last week, investors will look to results from about 91 S&P 500 companies this week.

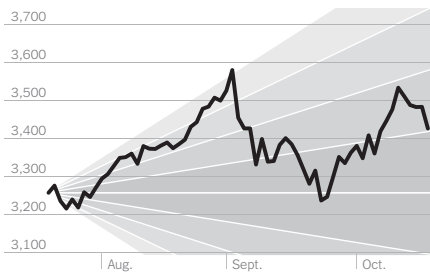
Declining issues outnumbered advancing ones on the N.Y.S.E. by a 2.67-to-1 ratio; on Nasdaq, a 2.30-to-1 ratio favored decliners.

The S&P 500 posted 25 new 52-week highs and 1 new lows; the Nasdaq Composite recorded 101 new highs and 29 new lows.

What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

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S&P 500 3426.92 ↓ 1.6%



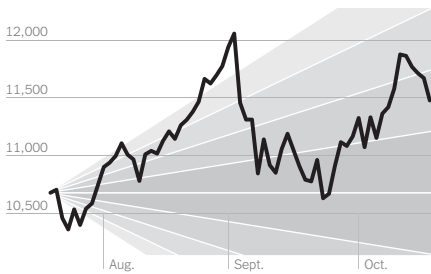
Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Western Digit (WDC)	\$40.92	+7.9%
2. United Airlin (UAL)	35.50	+3.9
3. Tapestry Inc (TPR)	20.06	+2.7
4. Under Armour (UAA)	13.26	+2.0
5. Under Armour (UAA)	13.26	+2.0
6. Micron Technol (MU)	52.63	+2.0
7. NetApp Inc (NTAP)	48.00	+1.8
8. IPG Photonic (IPGP)	186.50	+1.7
9. Keysight Tec (KEYS)	106.68	+1.7
10. Expedia Grou (EXPE)	92.14	+1.6

Sector performance



Nasdaq Composite Index 11478.88 ↓ 1.7%



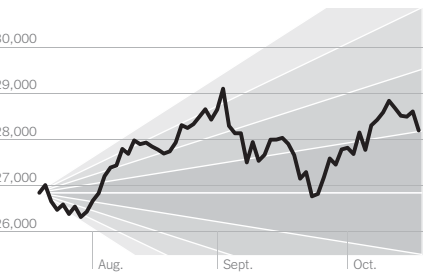
Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Gartner Inc (IT)	\$124.34	~4.4%
2. Ross Stores (ROST)	90.96	~4.4
3. VF Corp (VFC)	72.54	~4.3
4. Diamondback (FANG)	28.04	~4.3
5. Vornado Realt (VNO)	32.59	~4.2
6. Biogen Inc (BILB)	268.77	~4.0
7. DISH Network (DISH)	26.56	~4.0
8. Marriott Inte (MAR)	93.94	~3.9
9. Apartment Inv (AIV)	33.05	~3.9
10. ANSYS Inc (ANSS)	336.25	~3.9

Most active

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. General Electr (GE)	\$7.29	0.0%	\$130.7
2. Apple Inc (AAPL)	115.98	-2.6	120.1
3. AT&T Inc (T)	26.88	-1.6	52.1
4. Bank of Ameri (BAC)	23.72	-2.1	51.2
5. American Air (AAL)	12.56	+0.8	50.4
6. Intel Corp (INTC)	54.58	+0.8	43.5
7. Ford Motor Co (F)	7.59	-1.0	38.9
8. Wells Fargo & (WFC)	22.54	-1.4	37.3
9. Advanced Micr (AMD)	82.00	-1.4	36.6
10. United Airlin (UAL)	35.50	+3.9	33.0

Dow Jones industrials 28195.42 ↓ 1.4%

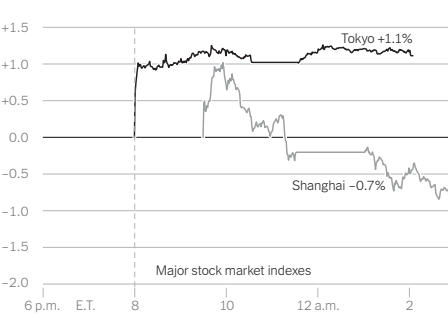


Specialty and short-term bonds

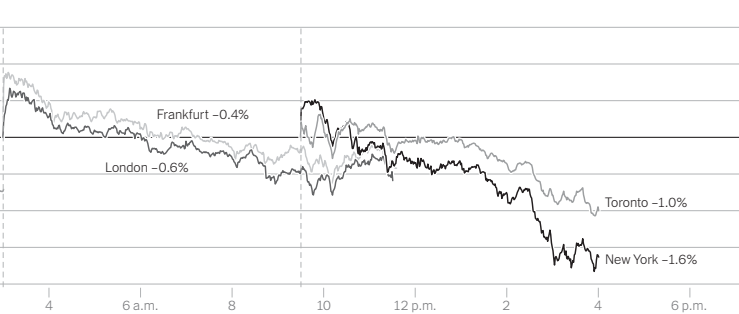
	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Inter-Term Investment-Grde Adm (VFIDX)	+9.2%	+5.1%	\$33.7
2. Lord Abbett Short Duration Income F (LDLFX)	+2.2	+2.8	22.8
3. Vanguard Short-Term Bond Index Adm (VBIRX)	+4.6	+2.5	18.2
4. Fidelity Capital & Income (FAGIX)	+6.2	+6.7	11.3
5. PIMCO High Yield Instl (PHYX)	+3.6	+5.8	9.6
6. PGIM High Yield Z (PHYZX)	+4.1	+6.7	9.1
7. PIMCO Short-Term Instl (PTSHX)	+2.9	+2.5	9.1
8. Templeton Global Bond Adv (TGBAX)	-3.2	+1.1	8.6
9. FPA New Income (FPNIX)	+2.5	+2.6	8.6
10. Vanguard Short-Term Treasury Adm (VFIRX)	+4.0	+2.0	8.5

Source: Morningstar

How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...



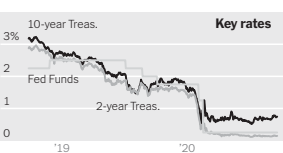
... in Europe



... and in the Americas.

What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

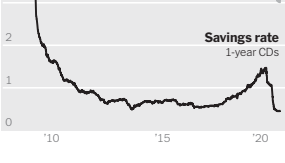
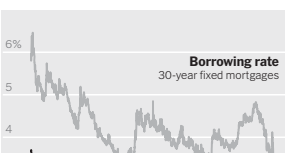
Bonds



Currencies



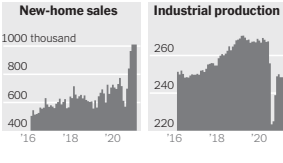
Consumer rates



Commodities



Economy



INVESTING

Low on Cash, CalPERS To Seek Private Equity

By MARY WILLIAMS WALSH

Ben Meng got the job of chief investment officer of CalPERS by convincing the trustees of the nation's largest public pension fund that he could hit their target of a 7 percent annual return on investment by directing more of the fund's billions into private equity.

Now, Mr. Meng is gone — only a year and a half after he started — and CalPERS, as the \$410 billion California Public Employees' Retirement System is known, is no closer to that goal. The fund is consistently short of the billions of dollars it needs to pay all retirees their pensions. And it continues to calculate that it can meet those obligations only if it gets the kind of big investment gains promised by private equity.

The strategy involves putting money into funds managed by firms such as the Blackstone Group and Carlyle, which buy companies and retol them with the goal of selling them or taking them public. Even as some of the fund's trustees have misgivings — they say the private equity business is opaque and illiquid and carries high fees — they say they have little choice.

"Private equity isn't my favorite asset class," Theresa Taylor, the chair of the CalPERS board's investment committee, said at a recent meeting. "It helps us achieve our 7 percent solution," she said. "I know we have to be there. I wish we were 100 percent funded. Then, maybe we wouldn't."

CalPERS, like many other pension funds, began putting money into private equity funds decades ago. But its reliance on such funds has increased in recent years, as low interest rates have made bonds less attractive and stocks have proven too volatile. Adding to the urgency are an aging population, expansive pension benefits that can't be reduced and a major funding shortfall.

Mr. Meng's abrupt departure in August, and CalPERS's slow-moving search for a replacement, are delaying its plans to increase its private equity investments. Mr. Meng resigned after compliance staff noticed that he had personal stakes in some of the investment firms that he was committing CalPERS's money to, most notably Blackstone. California state officials in that situation are supposed to recuse themselves, but Mr. Meng did not.

Some of the fund's stakeholders, including cities, school districts and other public employers, worry that in the meantime, CalPERS's trustees could react by putting new restrictions on investment chiefs, discouraging top candidates from applying for the job or otherwise making it harder for CalPERS to achieve its target rate of return. If investment returns fall short, local officials know they'll have to make up the difference, dipping into their budgets to free up more money to send to the

fund.

"It gets harder and harder each year," said Brett McFadden, the superintendent of a large school district northeast of Sacramento. He has cut art, music and guidance counselors to get more money for the state pension systems every year. "These policies are being made in Sacramento, and I'm the one left holding the bag," he said.

Marcie Frost, the chief executive of CalPERS, said that Mr. Meng's departure would not prompt the board to change CalPERS's investment strategy. She said a study by CalPERS and its outside consultants showed that private equity and distressed debt were the only asset classes powerful enough to boost the fund's overall average gains up to 7 percent a year, over time.

"So we have to have a meaningful allocation to those," she said. "There are no guarantees that we're going to be able to get 7 percent in the short term or, frankly, in the long term."

Data shows that CalPERS's private equity returns are consistently lower than industry benchmarks, but private equity has still performed better than other as-

The fund consistently is short of the billions it needs to pay its retirees' pensions.

sets and "has generated billions of dollars in additional returns as a result of our investments," said Greg Ruiz, CalPERS's managing investment director for private equity.

Mr. Meng was a big proponent of private equity, telling trustees that "only one asset class" would deliver the returns they sought and that the fund would need to direct more money into it. But while CalPERS sought, under him, to increase its private equity allocation to 8 percent of total assets, the holdings fell to 6.3 percent, in part because the private equity managers were returning money from previous investments and CalPERS did not jump to reinvest it. Over all, the fund had about \$80 billion — or 21 percent of its assets — in private equity, real estate and other illiquid assets as of June 30, the end of its last fiscal year.

CalPERS has sometimes moved slowly on private equity partly because of its trustees' qualms.

At one recent meeting, Ms. Taylor, the investment committee chair and formerly a senior union official, recalled that some of CalPERS's private equity partners had bought Toys "R" Us in 2005. The transaction loaded it up with \$5 billion in debt just as the retailer's bricks-and-mortar sales strategy was becoming antiquated, and the company went into a long,



Brett McFadden, the superintendent of a large school district northeast of Sacramento, said he has had to cut art, music and guidance counselors to spare money for the unfunded state pensions. "It gets harder and harder each year," he said.

slow collapse that ended in liquidation and cost more than 30,000 jobs.

"I'm hoping that we can get to a better strategy of mitigating some of these problems," she said.

Other trustees questioned the validity of the internal benchmark that CalPERS uses to evaluate its private equity investments, saying they didn't believe the returns were all that good after fees were deducted.

"We're going to be sold a bill of goods, and we're going to believe what they say, because we want to believe it and we want to make higher returns," said Margaret Brown, a trustee and retired capital investments director for a school district southeast of Los Angeles.

Still, the marching orders for CalPERS's next investment chief are apparent: Find ways to increase the pension giant's investments in private equity funds.

Independent analysts have long urged public pension trustees to stop chasing higher returns and instead take a deep, hard look at how they got to be so underfunded in the first place. A growing school of thought blames the way they calculate their total obligations to retirees for understating the true number — specifically, how they translate the value of pensions due in the future into today's dollars.

To do that, CalPERS uses the routine practice of discounting, which all financial institutions use and is based on the principle that money is worth more today than in the future. It requires the selection of an appropriate discount rate. CalPERS uses its target return on investment of 7 percent as its discount rate — a practice flatly rejected by financial economists, because 7 percent is associated with a high degree of risk, and CalPERS's pensions are risk free. Economists say that Cal-



PHOTOGRAPHS BY SALGU WISSMATH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PERS, and other public pension systems, should be using the rate associated with risk-free bonds like U.S. Treasury bonds. Doing it that way shows the tremendous intrinsic value of risk-free retirement income.

But by assuming a high so-called discount rate that matches its assumed rate of return, CalPERS makes its shortfall look much smaller on paper — which allows the fund to bill the State of California and its cities for smaller annual contributions than it would otherwise have to. That helps everybody balance their budgets more easily, but it has left the pension system chronically underfunded.

Public pension systems in California, including CalPERS, reported a combined shortfall of \$352.5 billion as of 2018, using their high investment assumptions as discount rates, according to a compilation by the Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research. But by replacing just that one assumption with what economists consider a valid discount rate, the institute showed that the funds were really \$1 trillion short that year. If CalPERS suddenly started billing local governments accordingly, it would cause a crisis.

CalPERS stepped into this trap in 1999, at the end of a powerful bull market. On paper, it appeared to have far more money than it needed, and state lawmakers decided to increase public pensions after hearing from CalPERS offi-

cials that it would not cost anything so long as the fund's investments could produce 8.25 percent average annual gains.

Then the dot-com bubble burst, and the investment gains on paper that CalPERS had amassed melted away, leaving a shortfall. But the big pension increase was locked in because California law bars any reduction in public pensions. Similar things happened in many other states. Before long, the race was on for higher investment returns.

"Over the past 20 years, U.S. pension funds have set aggressive targets and failed to meet them," said Kurt Winkelmann, a senior fellow for pension policy design at the University of Minnesota's Heller-Hurwicz Economics Institute.

He recently compiled the investment returns of the 50 states' pension systems from 2000 to 2018 and compared them with the states' average targets during that period. It turned out that the actual returns were 1.7 percentage points per year less.

CalPERS's investment results were even more off the mark, Mr. Winkelmann found. Its target averaged 7.7 percent over the 18 years. But actual average returns were only 5.5 percent over that period, Mr. Winkelmann said.

"There were periods when public fund investments exceeded their targets," Mr. Winkelmann said. "However, these periods were more than offset by periods with dramatic losses."

Profit Reports May Provide Antsy Investors A New Focus

By MATT PHILLIPS

Investors have gone from betting on another round of trillion-dollar stimulus spending, to hoping a Democratic sweep in November will remove any uncertainty about the election, to worrying about yet another upward trend in Covid-19 cases in the United States and Europe.

Now, something far more mundane could help drive stock prices: earnings season.

The roughly one-month period, which brings a flurry of financial results from public companies, is upon us. It'll be a chance to see how corporate bottom lines have been affected by the still uncontrolled pandemic.

Analysts are predicting that the companies in the S&P 500 will report a decline in profits of about 20 percent for the three months through September, compared with the same period last year. That would be ugly.

But it would be an improvement from the 32 percent tumble that profits took during the second quarter, which was one of the worst quarters for earnings since 2009, when the United States was suffering a deep recession.

The numbers in earnings reports are always an estimation game on Wall Street, with results graded on a curve compared with the expectations that investors and analysts hold.

So when expectations are deeply negative, a not-as-bad result can fuel stock market gains. In the last reporting season, which got underway in July, a record number of companies did better than expected. That lifted the stock market to a high, even as a fresh coronavirus wave was slamming the economy.

The S&P 500 rose 5.5 percent in July and 7 percent in August, hitting its highest point in early September.

A similar less-bad-is-good dynamic could be in store for investors over the next few weeks. Wall Street banks reported their results last week, and they were much better than expected. (On the other hand, the airlines Delta and United posted disappointing numbers, even when factoring in the already diminished expectations because of Covid-19.)

This week, the pace of reporting will pick up, with companies like Netflix, Procter & Gamble, Verizon, AT&T and Intel scheduled to release results. Analysts will scour that news for clues about economically important issues, such as whether further cost-cutting plans are coming down the pike, potentially weighing on economic growth.

Right now the predictions are that companies in industries that are sensitive to short-term economic swings, including industrial equipment companies and airlines, will produce the worst results over the next few weeks. While those in industries such as health care, consumer staples and technology — relatively insulated from the vicissitudes of the Covid economy — will fare better.

Either way, don't expect corporate chiefs to be too chatty about the outlook for the future, given the scale of the uncertainty.

"Most managements will still be reluctant to provide forward earnings guidance," Goldman Sachs analysts wrote in a preview last week of the next few weeks of results. "The uncertain timeline of a vaccine that is essential for the normalization of the economy, the stalled talks between the Trump administration and Congress on an interim fiscal package, and the contentious election that is only 25 days away are all valid reasons for executives to minimize forward-looking commentary."

Books of The Times:
Monday through Friday,
The New York Times

Oil Industry Turns to Mergers and Acquisitions in Scramble to Survive

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

fortunes of oil companies are fundamentally tied to oil and natural gas prices, which remain stubbornly low. Few experts expect a full recovery of oil demand before 2022, and some analysts have gone so far as to declare that oil demand might have peaked in 2019 and could slide in the years to come as the popularity of electric cars grows.

"There's a lot more red ink than there is black gold," said Michael Lynch, president of Strategic Energy and Economic Research, who periodically advises the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. "Companies are trying to hunker down and weather the storm. Most people don't think the oil price will recover for a couple of years."

More than 50 North American oil and gas companies with debts totaling more than \$50 billion have sought bankruptcy protection this year. Among the casualties was Chesapeake Energy, a shale pioneer based in Oklahoma City. More failures could come in the next two years as companies are required to repay tens of billions of dollars in debt.

Oil companies are facing daunting uncertainties, particularly as concerns over climate change mount and governments impose tougher regulations to reduce greenhouse gas emissions caused by the burning of fossil fuels. Small companies fear a crack-down on methane leaks and tightening regulations, especially if former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. becomes president and Democrats take control of the Senate.

European oil companies have already begun pivoting away from oil and gas, plotting investments



JOEL ANGEL JUAREZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"There's a lot more red ink than there is black gold," said an industry analyst.

in renewable energy like wind and solar to attract new investors. While those companies have had limited success so far, American companies have for the most part stuck with their traditional businesses. They have adapted to low oil and gas prices by slashing investments by 30 percent or more. The oil and gas rig count has dropped by 569 since last fall, to only 282 operating across the country.

Oil companies are hoarding cash and renegotiating contracts with service companies that drill and complete wells. Rig rental rates are down roughly 10 percent, pressuring the companies that do the field work. More than 100,000 American oil workers have lost their jobs in recent months.

ConocoPhillips, the largest American independent oil company, has been something of an outlier, recently raising its dividend and buying back shares. Nevertheless, ConocoPhillips's

stock price has dropped by roughly half so far this year.

The company is a major producer in the Bakken shale field of North Dakota and the Eagle Ford shale field in South Texas. By acquiring Concho, it will become a major player in the world's most lucrative shale field, the Permian Basin, which straddles West Texas and New Mexico.

With Concho's 550,000 acres in the Permian, ConocoPhillips will more than triple its 170,000-acre position in the basin, which became the world's most productive oil field last year.

Concho is little known outside Texas but became a major oil producer after it bought RSP Permian for \$9.5 billion in 2018. Concho produced more than 300,000 barrels in the second quarter.

"Together ConocoPhillips and Concho will have unmatched scale and quality," said Ryan M. Lance, ConocoPhillips's chairman and chief executive, referring to their

joint balance sheet, resource reserves and personnel.

The deal would help make ConocoPhillips one of the largest players in the Permian, putting it in the same league as companies that are much bigger than it over all.

"The combination is remarkable," said Robert Clarke, a vice president and oil analyst at Wood Mackenzie, a research and consulting firm. "Just in regards to scale, ConocoPhillips is adding enough Permian production to nip at the heels of ExxonMobil's massive program."

As the shale industry grew over the last decade or so, many smaller companies poured billions of dollars into the Permian and other parts of the country. Now, the process appears to be headed in the opposite direction as the industry retrenches and becomes smaller.

Investment in U.S. shale oil has dropped to an estimated \$45 billion this year from roughly \$100 billion annually in 2018 and 2019, according to the International Energy Agency. In its annual report released this month, the Paris-based organization said a shake-out was underway.

"The influence of large players is set to grow as acreage is consolidated by larger industry players, and the focus on growth is set to be supplanted over time by a focus on returns," the report said. "The exuberance and breakneck growth of the early years may be replaced by something a little steadier."

American oil production fell to 11.2 million barrels a day in September from 13 million at the beginning of the year. The Energy Department expects production

to fall an additional 200,000 barrels a day by mid-2021 as companies drill fewer new wells to replace older ones.

The industry has no choice but to cut back. Americans drove 12.3 percent fewer miles in August than they did a year earlier, according to the Transportation Department.

Globally, daily oil consumption was down more than 6 percent in September from a year earlier, according to the Energy Department. Oil production continues to outpace demand, keeping inventory levels high and prices low.

And the pandemic is not yet under control in many parts of the world. If sustained, the recent increase in coronavirus infections in the United States, Europe and elsewhere could reduce demand for oil and gas even further in the coming months.

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INTERNATIONAL | MEDIA

U.S. Agrees to Limited Trade Deal With Brazil

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — The United States and Brazil have reached an agreement on a limited trade deal that will facilitate commerce between the countries, strengthen regulatory practices and crack down on corruption, officials from the two countries announced Monday.

The pact, the latest in a series of “mini” trade deals inked by the Trump administration, follows seven months of negotiations between the United States and Brazil, and comes as President Trump is eager to rack up trade wins ahead of the Nov. 3 election. But it’s unclear how much the new deal will boost trade between the countries, given its limited scope.

Speaking from an event hosted by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on Monday, President Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil said the deal would open “a new chapter” in the relationship between the two countries. He said that Brazilian and U.S. officials had completed negotiations “in record time” on a package that would “slash red tape and bring about even more growth to our bilateral trade.”

Brazil was the United States’ 11th-largest trading partner in goods in 2018. That year, the United States exported \$67.8 billion of goods and services to



T.J. KIRKPATRICK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump with President Jair Bolsonaro of Brazil in March.

Brazil, including fuel, aircraft, machinery and chemicals, and imported \$37.2 billion, including fuel, steel and aircraft.

The announcement follows a series of other small-scale trade deals announced by the Trump administration, including with Japan, China and the European Union. Unlike a comprehensive free trade deal, these smaller deals do not require the approval of Congress, which can stall an agreement for many months, or sink it entirely. The Trump administration has also sought a limited

trade deal with India, but has so far failed to reach an agreement.

The deals have provided a series of quick wins for the Trump administration, and quick gains for American farmers, ranchers, lobstermen and other sectors Mr. Trump has sought to support. But they have also attracted criticism from the business community for leaving out many sectors of the economy, especially those where trade negotiations tend to be most difficult. Business leaders have urged the administration to continue to negotiate toward more

comprehensive trade deals.

The administration has not yet released details on the Brazil deal, but it appears to be smaller still than agreements signed with China and Japan. It focuses on trade facilitation, or aligning the methods the two governments use to process goods passing over

The pact is expected to ease barriers and strengthen regulation.

their borders, with the aim of making it easier for companies to trade between the countries. It will also reduce regulatory barriers to trade and strengthen rules to root out corruption.

Myron Brilliant, the executive vice president and head of international affairs at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, said on Monday that the new deal with Brazil would “support commerce, growth, and job creation in both countries.” However, he added, the countries had much more to do on key priorities, including digital trade and express shipments.

“We ask both governments to return to the negotiating table as soon as possible to leverage the positive momentum of today’s announcement,” he said.

Writer Is Suspended After Zoom Exposure

By JOHNNY DIAZ

The New Yorker said Monday that it had suspended the staff writer Jeffrey Toobin after a Zoom call last week among employees of the magazine and WNYC radio in which he reportedly exposed himself.

“I made an embarrassingly stupid mistake, believing I was off-camera,” Mr. Toobin said in a statement about a report on Monday by Vice. “I apologize to my wife, family, friends and co-workers.”

“I thought I had muted the Zoom video,” he added. “I thought no one on the Zoom call could see me.” In a text message, he declined to elaborate.

A spokeswoman for The New Yorker, where Mr. Toobin has worked for more than 25 years, said in a statement that Mr. Toobin “has been suspended while we investigate the matter.”

Mr. Toobin is also a senior legal analyst for CNN. The network said in a statement that Mr. Toobin “has asked for some time off while he deals with a personal issue, which we have granted.”

Mr. Toobin is the author of nine books, including “The Oath: The Obama White House and the Supreme Court,” “The Nine: Inside



ALEXANDER DRAGO/REUTERS

The New Yorker has suspended Jeffrey Toobin while it investigates an incident on a Zoom call.

the Secret World of the Supreme Court” and “Too Close to Call.” His book “The Run of His Life” was adapted for television as the FX series “American Crime Story: The People v. O.J. Simpson.”

His latest book is “True Crimes and Misdemeanors: The Investigation of Donald Trump.” Doubleday, which published the book, did not immediately respond to an inquiry about Mr. Toobin.

Chasing Illicit Money, Global Authorities Circle a Firm in Puerto Rico

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

has a financial relationship with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, which is uncommon for its type of financial firm, and links to big institutions in several countries, including Australia, Britain and Canada.

Neither Euro Pacific Bank nor its personnel have been charged with wrongdoing. Daniel Kramer, its spokesman, declined to answer questions about the investigation. Based on the conclusions they make, the agencies can bring criminal charges, civil complaints or other actions in their home countries against their investigative targets.

This is not the first time that global authorities battling dirty money have focused on Puerto Rico. The U.S. territory has long used tax breaks, favorable regulations and other inducements to build up its small financial industry.

Easy regulations have led to standards that sometimes lag those elsewhere, according to some regulators. Last year European Union officials included the U.S. territories of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam and American Samoa on a list of places with “strategic deficiencies” in anti-money-laundering laws, along with countries like Iraq and Libya. The Trump administration objected, and a later version excluded the American territories.

Puerto Rico has also encouraged the creation of boutique banks that cater to international investors, called international finance entities, or I.F.E.s, like Euro Pacific Bank. Last year, the New York Fed grew concerned about how I.F.E.s in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands scrutinize their customers. It stopped allowing the firms to open accounts with the Fed, which made it easier for them to send and receive money around the world.

The New York Fed restarted approvals this year after strengthening compliance requirements and “know your customer” rules. Firms that already had accounts with the Fed have until March to comply.

Puerto Rico requires that I.F.E.s hire at least four local employees. That low threshold thwarts the government’s intention to create jobs and makes it difficult for the firms to follow money-laundering laws, said George Joyner, former chief of the territory’s financial regulator.

“The purpose was to build out a robust international financial sector,” Mr. Joyner said. “But it really hasn’t done that. You can’t have a robust anti-money-laundering program or know your customer program with just four people.”

The investigation into Euro Pacific Bank is being conducted by tax officials in the United States, Australia, Britain, Canada and the Netherlands. They formed the Joint Chiefs of Global Tax Enforcement, or J5, two years ago to swap information. They were inspired by the disclosure of the Panama Papers, the leaked documents that detailed how the rich hide their money.

Agents with the Internal Revenue Service have interviewed Mr. Schiff and the bank’s president, Mark Anderson, for the investigation, nicknamed Operation Atlantis.

Officials involved with the investigation declined to discuss details, but evidence circulating



GABRIELLA N. BAEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Euro Pacific Bank offices in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The firm was founded by Peter Schiff, right, a well-known libertarian economist with a deep-seated animosity to paying taxes who earned the name Dr. Doom after correctly predicting the 2007-8 financial collapse.

among the agencies suggests they are raising questions about Euro Pacific and its clients.

Its client list has included Michael Wilson, who pleaded guilty to wire fraud in 2017 in federal court in Buffalo. The authorities seized \$750,000 he held in four Euro Pacific accounts.

It also included Simon Antequil, the founder of an Australian payroll services company where employees illegally funneled more than \$75 million that should have gone to taxes or retirement funds into shell companies. In July, Mr. Antequil was sentenced to at least five years in prison. An Australian judge called his crime “one of the most serious offenses of its kind to come before a court in this country.”

Though small compared with international banks, Euro Pacific is sizable for a Puerto Rico I.F.E. It has about 8,000 depositors, according to the company. It holds about \$140 million in deposits, a decline of nearly \$30 million since 2017.

Euro Pacific is majority-owned by its chief executive, Mr. Anderson. Mr. Schiff holds a 45 percent stake, according to regulatory filings. Both declined repeated requests for interviews from The Times.

In an appearance with Australia’s “60 Minutes” at his home outside New York last month, Mr. Schiff said that “there have been some allegations” but that “all of the allegations are unfounded, and there’s no basis, in fact, for any of them.”

Through a spokesman, Mr. Schiff later said that the interview was “clearly designed to take the information I provided and use it out of context.”

Silver-haired and loquacious,



RICK WILKING/REUTERS

Mr. Schiff, 57, runs several investment funds and has been a commentator on cable news shows for more than a decade, along with hosting a podcast. He is a son of Irwin A. Schiff, who spent more than a decade in jail for evading taxes and died five years ago while in federal custody.

Mr. Schiff founded Euro Pacific in 2011 in the lush Caribbean outpost of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. He promoted it as an alternative to the established banking system. In one 2011 interview, he promised to issue debit cards backed by individual holdings of gold and silver. In another, from 2014, he said that he had chosen St. Vincent because “you have secrecy, privacy and you have no tax.”

In its early years, Euro Pacific had poorly protected email and file storage programs, said John Ogilvie, the company’s former information technology director, who started in 2014. Mr. Anderson insisted on putting all personal

and company passwords in a directory labeled “passwords” on his computer, in a file with “master password” in the title, he said.

“He was just not very careful,” Mr. Ogilvie said.

Mr. Ogilvie, 49, left the company in 2016. In an email to Mr. Schiff that August, he called Euro Pacific “the most unprofessional working environment I have ever had the displeasure in participating.”

By 2017, Mr. Schiff had relocated the firm, his \$783 million asset management business and his own official residence to Puerto Rico, taking advantage of a law that permits Americans who move their companies there to reduce tax liability. Mr. Schiff said he wanted to move to Puerto Rico in part to make it easier for Euro Pacific to set up an account with the New York Fed.

Euro Pacific also reached deals with Bank of Montreal, NatWest of Britain and Perth Mint, an Australian precious metals dealer, to allow customers to easily transfer

funds to it.

Oversight in Puerto Rico was light. The New York Fed does not regulate I.F.E.s, even ones that keep accounts with it. The Fed, a spokeswoman said, does not comment on individual account holders but requires them to provide an independent assessment of their compliance program and an updated know-your-customer questionnaire.

The firm’s day-to-day regulator is the Puerto Rico Office of the Commissioner of Financial Institutions. The office, which has just a handful of bank examiners, said it had yet to complete an examination of Euro Pacific.

Puerto Rico “has a robust legal and regulatory framework to prevent, detect and combat money laundering, terrorist financing and other illicit financial transactions,” said Víctor M. Rodríguez Bonilla, the office’s commissioner.

Puerto Rico also is not a signatory to the “common reporting standard,” which requires banks

from more than 150 nations to report big deposits to the depositor’s home country to stop tax fraud and other crimes.

One company that markets Euro Pacific’s services to potential customers detailed those advantages explicitly.

That company, Amanda J. Molyneux & Company in London, which helps clients open offshore companies, wrote online a year ago about the benefits of Puerto Rico’s nonparticipation in the common reporting standard. In essence, said Richard Scott Carnell, a former Treasury Department official, Molyneux was sell-

Tax enforcers from five nations are investigating Euro Pacific Bank.

ing Euro Pacific as a firm that will not tattle to tax authorities.

“They said the quiet part out loud,” said Mr. Carnell, adding, “It is unsavory.”

Mr. Kramer, the Euro Pacific spokesman, said the bank “did not endorse” the message from Molyneux. Third-party marketers like Molyneux, he said, receive \$25 from Euro Pacific for every new customer they bring to the bank.

Charles Farran, a Molyneux managing director who had posted the message, said that he properly vetted all his customers and that the message to clients “was not made for any marketing process.” He added in a statement that the post was “merely a statement of fact and a matter of public record.”

After learning of the J5 investigation from a Times reporter, Mr. Farran said he “will now suspend any client application referrals to the bank.”

Others found the customer vetting process at Euro Pacific to be surprisingly light.

In 2017, a group of artists called the Demystification Committee began a project to show how easily money could be moved offshore anonymously. They set up a swimsuit line emblazoned with the logos of the companies they used to set up their offshore project — including Euro Pacific.

Francesco Tacchini, a member of the group, said he filled out a form in July 2017 to set up an account with Euro Pacific as part of the project. He had to state he was not a U.S. citizen and provide a copy of his passport identification page. But the follow-up phone interview with a Euro Pacific bank representative, he said, “felt like it was a formality.”

Even before the investigation, business has not always gone smoothly for Euro Pacific. It has been unable to strike deals with major credit card brands to issue cards that would allow customers to withdraw their money.

Today it emphasizes the security and technology it provides. Despite his popularity among tax opponents, Mr. Schiff is not mentioned in a 14-page presentation posted to the company’s website.

Four pages are dedicated to explaining how the bank “seeks to obtain a in-depth knowledge of each and every client.”

Alejandra Rosa contributed reporting.

VIRUS FALLOUT | MEDIA



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Pret A Manger Finds Itself in ‘Survival Mode’

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
decade. In August, weekly sales in Britain were about 5.5 million pounds (\$7.1 million), barely more than in August 2010, when it had about 150 fewer stores. It laid off 2,890 people, a third of its staff. Thousands of those who remained went from 35-hour contracts to 28 hours a week. Two months later, on Friday, the chain said another 400 jobs would be

‘Pret’s been run over the last 30 years with gut feel and intuition.’

Pano Christou, chief executive of Pret A Manger

cut and six more stores would close in Britain.

Pret has become a symbol of the needy city center struggling without commuters, and its troubles spawned a flurry of newspaper articles about whether people should or shouldn’t “Save Pret.” Photos of high-ranking government officials popping in and out of a Pret near Parliament in July sent a clear message about which side of the argument the government was on before it instructed workers to return to their offices, albeit temporarily.

For some companies, the only response to the pandemic has been to hunker down and try to avoid running out of cash before their customers can return (consider the airline industry), but others cannot wait for a return to normalcy because it may never come. Pret is among the companies forced to reconsider their business as everyone reconsiders personal day-to-day routines. The predicament has forced a successful company to go into survival mode, to figure out what the office lunch is without the office.

And it is now clearly willing to try anything.

It wants to sell Pret food in supermarkets, and has already begun selling coffee beans on Amazon; it has signed up to all the major food delivery platforms to take its sandwiches, soups and salads to its work-from-home customers, and opened a so-called dark kitchen in North London to prepare its food strictly for delivery, modeled on the success of Sweetgreen and Shake Shack,

and hopes to open another dark kitchen in either New York or New Jersey soon; and it is devising a special menu of hot evening meals for delivery, such as a Chipotle Chicken Burrito Bowl.

Then there is the coffee subscription, an effort to drive people back to the stores: Five drinks a day made by a barista (coffees, teas and smoothies) for £20 a month. On the face of it, it could be an extraordinarily good deal. With two lattes a week, a subscriber will break even. And the first month is free. (Small print: You can’t order five drinks at once — there must be 30 minutes between each drink order.)

Pret’s whole business model hasn’t collapsed, just one crucial part of it, said Jessica Spungin, who teaches strategy and entrepreneurship at London Business School. Many people are still working, and they still need to eat a quick lunch. “How they can sell it to them is different because these people are no longer where they used to be,” she said.

The only way through this, if there is a way through this, is for Pret to experiment with lots of “small, low risk” ideas at once, Ms. Spungin said.

Mr. Christou, 42, sees this as an opportunity for Pret to become a different type of company. Rather than worry about whether workers will return to their offices and what the government’s advice will be, Pret needs to transform.

“I don’t think customers should help Pret. I think it’s down to Pret to figure out what it does and how it evolves,” Mr. Christou said at the company’s headquarters last month, on his first anniversary of becoming chief executive.

He joined Pret 20 years ago as an assistant manager, after a stint at McDonald’s. Since then, he has risen up the ranks through operational roles overseeing stores in London, Edinburgh and Leeds. When he took over the helm, he was supposed to be overseeing an expansion. His predecessor had just bought a rival chain to accelerate the growth of the company’s vegetarian and vegan spinoff, Veggie Pret.

Now, the goal is survival, and the new mantra, he said, is “bring Pret to the people.”

Mr. Christou said he had gotten the idea for the coffee subscription from Panera Bread, the U.S.



Pret’s coffee subscription, an effort to drive people back to the stores, will also give the company a chance to gather more data about its customers, identifying those who “care enough and miss Pret enough that they’ll sign up.”

chain that is also owned by JAB Holding. (The chief executives of the companies owned by JAB chat and discuss new ideas in a WhatsApp group, he said.)

The other benefit of the subscription plan is the chance to gather more data about its customers, who will scan a QR code each time they use it.

“Pret have been very, very late adapters to this,” Mr. Christou said. Panera, he said, has a database of more than 40 million customers across the United States. “Pret’s been run over the last 30 years with gut feel and intuition, and we haven’t done that badly, but I think the richness of data today gives you an opportunity to learn much more about your customers.”

Ms. Spungin said that data could prove “invaluable” to Pret in identifying its loyal fans, those who “care enough and miss Pret enough that they’ll sign up.” With that information, she said, the company should consider a food delivery subscription, where people can pick their lunches for the week and have them delivered each morning.

Regardless of what Pret does to diversify its business, “doing nothing was definitely not going to work,” Ms. Spungin said. “This has a higher chance of success.”

Mr. Christou’s optimism about Pret’s future comes with a dose of realism. “It’s still very much a turbulent time,” he said. “We are not out of the woods.”

The British government’s furlough program, which is set to end on Oct. 31, is still helping to pay some of Pret’s store staff, along with about three million other people in Britain.

And paying rent remains an issue for Pret, as it is for many hospitality businesses in Britain, especially those in the center of London. The government put in place a moratorium on evictions, effectively allowing businesses to delay their rent payments, which has twice been extended, now to the end of the year.

“The extension of the moratorium is huge for us,” Mr. Christou said.

The problem with rent goes beyond the stores, of which 26 have been permanently closed in Britain. Pret has also put the lease for

its headquarters, in the Victoria area of London, near the location of the first Pret, on the market. It’s a large industrial expanse of glass and concrete, with plenty of spots for staff to congregate, which are now needless.

Pret, a victim of office downsizing and companies allowing employees to work from home indefinitely, finds it must make the same calculations for its own staff. Mr. Christou said the head office would probably stay in London but would be less central, and accommodate about 60 percent of its newly depleted office staff (90 people were laid off in August).

Mr. Christou also hopes a smaller, less grand office will give the company more of a start-up culture, and recall the earlier, “quirky” days when the company’s founders, Sinclair Beecham and Julian Metcalfe, were constantly experimenting with new sandwich formulas, including a crayfish and arugula sandwich that became a menu staple for years.

“When you’re in survival mode, you’ve got to try things,” Mr. Christou said.

Virus Briefing

AIR TRAVEL

Airports on Sunday See Over a Million Travelers

More than a million people passed through airport checkpoints on Sunday, the first time the Transportation Security Administration has screened that many people since mid-March.

While that represents a symbolic milestone for the travel industry, U.S. airlines are still losing billions of dollars a month as they brace for much weaker demand for tickets this winter. The number of people screened by the T.S.A. on Sunday was down about 60 percent compared with the same day a year ago.

Last week, Delta Air Lines and United Airlines both said that operating revenue in the three months through September had fallen nearly 80 percent compared with last year. That period spanned much of the summer, which is typically the busiest season for airlines. Corporate travel typically sustains them in the fall, but many large businesses have been cautious about returning to normal operations and have told their employees to work from home until next July.

The steep decline in travel has forced airlines to cut to the bone, tweaking every part of the business as they hope to capitalize on what little demand remains. American Airlines and Southwest Airlines are expected to release similarly dismal third-quarter financial results this week.

NIRAJ CHOKSHI

SEASONAL HIRING

CVS Plans Backup Crew Of 15,000 for Flu Season

CVS Health announced on Monday that it planned to hire 15,000 workers to prepare for expected increases in coronavirus and flu cases in the United States during the fall and winter months.

More than 10,000 of the new roles will be full-time and part-time licensed pharmacy technicians at CVS Pharmacy locations to help administer Covid-19 tests, process prescriptions and dispense medications.

“Additional team members typically are needed every flu season,” Lisa Bisaccia, chief human resources officer of CVS Health, said in a statement. “However, we’re estimating a much greater need for trained pharmacy technicians this year given the continued presence of Covid-19 in our communities.”

The additional hires may also help the company distribute a Covid-19 vaccine when it becomes available, if federal officials permit pharmacy technicians to administer it. The company has more than 4,000 drive-through coronavirus testing sites across the United States. GILLIAN FRIEDMAN

COVID-19 BONUS

Target to Pay 4th Bonus To Workers as Sales Soar

Target said on Monday that it would pay a fourth bonus to its employees who work in stores, distribution centers and staff and employee contact centers, as the pandemic continues and the retailer’s sales have soared this year. More than 350,000 workers will receive \$200 by early November, Target said.

SAPNA MAHESHWARI

THEME PARKS

Unions Accept Safety Plan For Reopening Disneyland

Marking a potentially significant step toward the reopening of the Disneyland Resort in California, a coalition of unions representing thousands of workers has informed Gov. Gavin Newsom that it is generally satisfied with the health measures laid out by the company for operating safely.

The resort in Anaheim, which supports tens of thousands of jobs, has been closed since March, even as the company reopened Walt Disney World in Florida and resorts in Paris, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Tokyo.

Despite pleas from the company, Governor Newsom has been skeptical of reopening.

NOAM SCHEIBER

After TikTok Assures Pakistan It Will Monitor for Indecency, Ban Is Lifted

By SALMAN MASOOD

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — Just 10 days after introducing a ban on TikTok, the Pakistani authorities said on Monday that they were reversing the decision after receiving assurance from the Chinese-owned social media platform that it would moderate content according to local laws.

“TikTok is being unlocked after assurance from management that they will block all accounts repeatedly involved in spreading obscenity and immorality,” the Pakistan Telecommunication Authority, the national regulator, said in a statement.

Pakistan banned the app on Oct. 9 after officials said they had received a slew of complaints about indecent content. The app was

functioning again on Monday.

TikTok, with its lip-syncing teenagers and meme-heavy videos, has faced problems in several countries for varying reasons.

Officials said the app had been overtaken by vulgar dance numbers.

The Trump administration has attempted to block the app over privacy fears, India has prohibited the service as part of rising tensions between New Delhi and Beijing, and public decency concerns have led to occasional bans in places like Bangladesh and Indonesia.

TikTok has 20 million users in Pakistan, but conservatives in the country say that the app has been overtaken by vulgar song-and-dance numbers and memes. Officials said that a big reason behind the ban was the sexualization of underage girls and that TikTok was given several warnings to regulate its content before the ban was imposed.

But others said the Pakistani authorities’ move to lock the app was also intended to limit criticism of the government, which is struggling with a sagging economy and facing growing opposition. In recent months, the app has had a substantial increase in content that caricatured or mocked the policies of the governing party, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Officials have denied any political un-

dertones to the ban.

ByteDance, the Chinese company that owns TikTok, said in a statement on Monday that it welcomed the decision: “At TikTok, we’re committed to enforcing our community guidelines and complying with local laws in all markets in which we operate, as these are pillars of our work to promote a safe and positive community online.”

The decision to allow TikTok to resume operations in Pakistan was widely welcomed by the app’s users, too, and finance analysts said it would increase investor confidence.

“The expedited reversal of the ban also goes to show that ByteDance is very much invested in the Pakistan market,” said Saif Ali, a marketing executive.



FAREED KHAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A youth using TikTok at a market in Karachi, Pakistan, in July.

ECONOMY

Your Local Bookstore Wants You to Know That It’s Struggling

By ELIZABETH A. HARRIS

The signs started appearing in bookstore windows last week.

“Buy books from people who want to sell books, not colonize the moon.”

“Amazon, please leave the dystopia to Orwell.”

“If you want Amazon to be the world’s only retailer, keep shopping there.”

The message: Buy from these shops, or they won’t be around much longer. According to the American Booksellers Association, which developed the campaign, more than one independent bookstore has closed each week since the pandemic began. Many of those still standing are staring down the crucial holiday season and seeing a toxic mix of higher expenses, lower sales and enormous uncertainty.

Even though book sales have been a bright spot in an exceedingly grim national economy — they rose more than 6 percent so far this year compared with last year, according to NPD BookScan — most of those purchases are not going through independent stores. Surging interest in specific categories, from educational books to titles on race and antiracism, continues to boost some booksellers but has dropped off for others.

Still, local independent stores have hustled and reinvented themselves during the pandemic. Mailing books to customers, which used to be a minuscule revenue stream for most shops, can now be more than half of a store’s income, or virtually all of it for places that are not yet open for in-person shopping. Curbside pickup has become commonplace.

Avid Bookshop in Athens, Ga., sends personalized URLs to customers with a list of handpicked recommendations. Green Apple Books in San Francisco



JEREMY M. LANGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



JEREMY M. LANGE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: Jamie Fiocco, the owner of Flyleaf Books in Chapel Hill, N.C., is spending tens of thousands on postage and pandemic supplies; Greenlight Bookstore in Brooklyn is using its storefront to make its case; Sarah McNally, owner of McNally Jackson Books in New York, says sales are down sharply; and the new reality at Flyleaf.

raised \$20,000 selling T-shirts, hoodies and masks that said “Stay home, read books.” Other stores have pleaded for customers to donate money.

All that still may not be enough.

“Somebody said to me, ‘Boy, you must be raking it in with all the online business you’re getting,’” said Christine Onorati, an owner of Word bookstores in Brooklyn and Jersey City, N.J. “It makes me laugh.”

Bookstores across the country face different challenges depending on any number of factors, including their local economies and how they have been affected by the coronavirus. But some broad trend lines have started to emerge, perhaps most of all that bigger, right now, is not better.

Take Vroman’s Bookstore, a 126-year-old institution in Pasadena, Calif. It has more than 200 employees, 20,000 square feet of space and the rent to go along with it. In a normal year, it hosts anywhere from 300 to 400 events, bringing in authors for readings and signings, along with customers who buy books and maybe a glass of wine from the bar. But none of that is happening this year.

Like many other stores, Vroman’s is hosting online events to promote new books, which can attract attendees from all over the country but generally bring in almost no money. Last month, it emailed customers, imploring them to come back.

“Our foot traffic and sales are improving, but still down almost 40 percent, which will not keep us in business,” it said. “If Vroman’s is to survive, sales must increase significantly from now through the holidays.”

At McNally Jackson Books, which has four locations in Manhattan and Brooklyn along with two stationery shops, sales are “unimaginably bad,” according to its owner, Sarah McNally.

All six shops combined are now bringing in less than its SoHo location would in a typical month.

SoHo, normally one of New York City’s busiest shopping destinations, was quiet

on a perfect fall afternoon last week, its normal crush of human traffic replaced with a smattering of people on each block. “Something I’ve never known is how many of my customers are tourists,” Ms. McNally said. “I wonder if it’s more than I thought.”

The news is not all dire, however, even for some big stores.

Third Place Books, which has three large locations in the Seattle area, is down about 20 percent for the year, said Robert Sindelar, its managing partner, which, in 2020, is a figure he is happy with. He attributed its relative success to its locations in the suburbs, which attracts nearby residents who are working from home.

Source Booksellers, a Black-owned store in Detroit, saw an uptick in orders after the death of George Floyd, as readers sought out books on racism as well as ways to support African-American businesses.

“We had business from different states we had never seen before,” said Alyson Jones Turner, who owns the store with her mother, Janet Webster Jones. “Our being able to walk now has a lot to do with that moment.”

Allison K. Hill, the chief executive of the American Booksellers Association, said the group surveyed its 1,750 members in July and received responses from about 400 of them. Of those who answered, about a third said their sales were down 40 percent or more for the year. But an additional 26 percent said their sales were flat, or even up.

The organization plans to do another survey in January, and Ms. Hill said she expects that positive number to have eroded.

Even at stores where sales have held on, profits are often down, Ms. Hill said. In the best of times, the margins at a bookstore are paper thin — traditionally, a successful shop hopes to make 2 percent in profits — but operating during a pandemic is even more expensive.

“We’re working harder for less this year,” said Kelly Estep, an owner of



AMR ALFIKY/THE NEW YORK TIMES



CALLA KESSLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Carmichael’s Bookstore in Louisville, Ky.

Mailing a book to a customer requires more time and labor than ringing it up at the register. Some stores are offering hazard pay to their employees or have dedicated a staff member to greet people at the door, making sure they’re wearing masks and sanitizing their hands before they start running their fingers across the books.

Even the cost of now-essential supplies has taken a toll on the many bookshops that operate on a shoestring.

“If someone told me this time last year I would be spending \$20,000 on postage and shipping materials and P.P.E. and extra cleaning for the stores,” said Jamie Fiocco, an owner of Flyleaf Books in Chapel Hill, N.C., and the board president of the American Bookseller Association, she wouldn’t have believed it. “We just didn’t have those line items in our budget, or if we did, they were inconsequential.”

Hanging over all this is the holiday season. Ms. Fiocco said her store does about 30 percent of its business in the

last eight weeks of the year, and there are days in December when she sells more in an hour than in a normal day. But this year, customers won’t be able to freely swarm the store at the last minute, so booksellers are trying to encourage early shopping.

Perhaps most worrying is that the supply chain has been under strain. There have been issues with shippers, limited capacity at warehouses and backlogs at printing companies, where books delayed from the spring are running up against releases planned for the fall. Among those is a new memoir by former President Barack Obama, which is scheduled for publication Nov. 17 and expected to be the biggest book of the year. “There’s a Hail Mary here where the holiday season could really change things,” said Ms. Hill. “To have a book like that come out right at this critical time, it could make a huge difference.”

Many store owners are afraid the printers won’t be able to keep up with demand, or that publishers won’t prioritize indies if supply gets tight, so they’re plac-

ing large orders up front for some of the biggest books of the season, like a new cookbook by Yotam Ottolenghi. (Mr. Obama’s book has required other adjustments: At 768 pages, it will weigh 2.5 pounds, said Matt Keliher at Subtext Books in St. Paul, Minn., so the store had to raise shipping fees or else it would lose money on every sale.) Because the demand has been so enormous, Mr. Obama’s publisher Penguin Random House will be sending orders out in batches for stores across the country, from little indies to the big boxes.

“If we could sell 1,000 copies between November 17 and the New Year, that’s going to make a huge difference in us being viable, so we need those books,” said Gayle Shanks, an owner of Changing Hands Bookstore, which has locations in Phoenix and Tempe, Ariz. “We’re really trying to get the message out, to help customers understand that not just for bookstores but local retailers and local restaurants, if they want them to be there when the pandemic over, they have to support those businesses now.”

SportsTuesday

The New York Times

WORLD SERIES • RAYS VS. DODGERS

Where the Sun Has Shone The Brightest

A showdown of pandemic title towns will end one team’s drought.

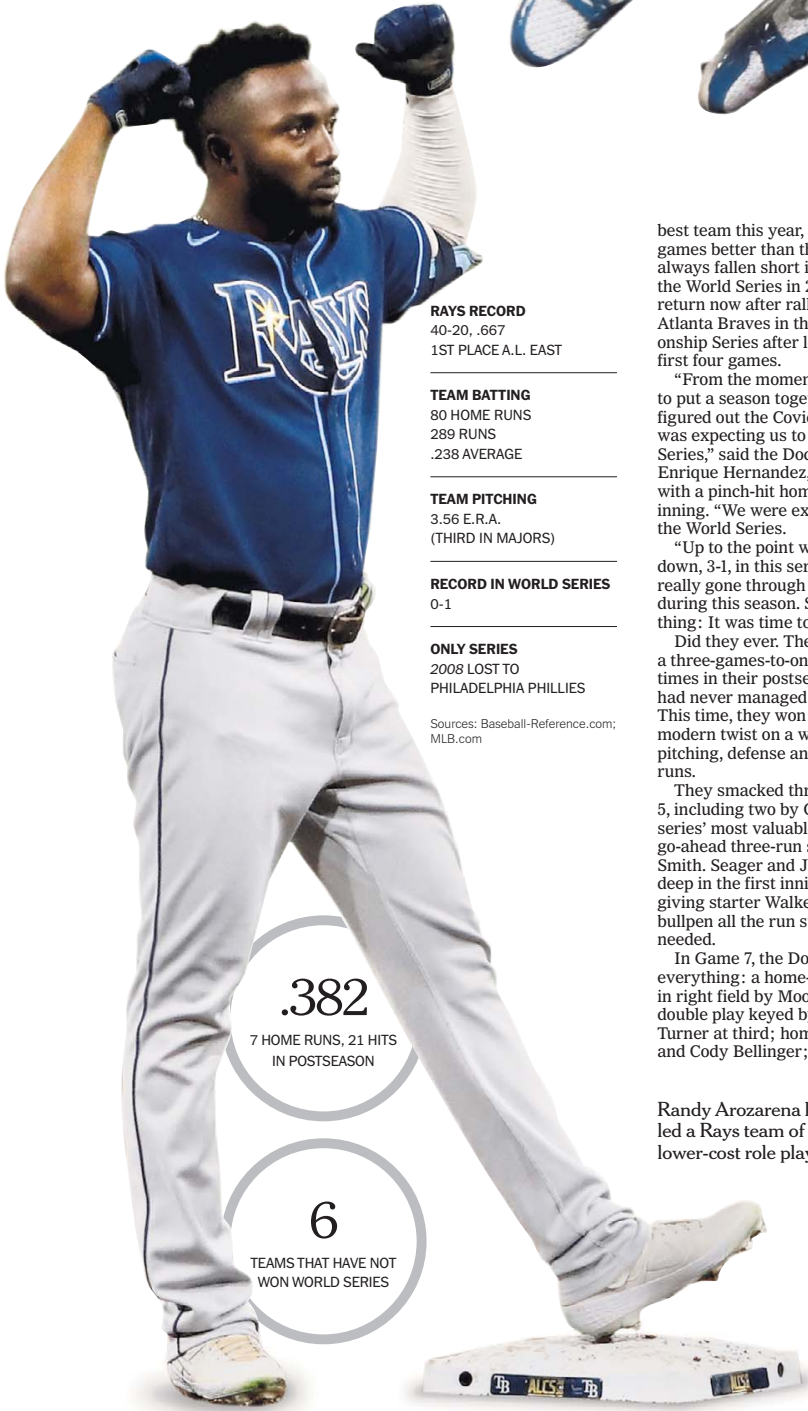
ARLINGTON, Texas — The shortest and strangest season in Major League Baseball history will finish with a clash of coasts and contrasts. The Los Angeles Dodgers and the Tampa Bay Rays — big spenders and bargain hunters — will crown one region with an unofficial title no one saw coming: intersports champion of the pandemic era.

The 116th World Series, to be played at Globe Life Field starting on Tuesday, will be the third championship series for a big four North American sports league to be decided this fall. The Tampa Bay Lightning won the Stanley Cup on Sept. 30, and the Los Angeles Lakers took the N.B.A. finals 12 days later. Now, Tampa Bay or Los Angeles will add another trophy.

For the baseball teams themselves, though, a championship would be a long time coming. The Dodgers have not won the World Series since 1988, a decade before the Rays started play as the American League’s most recent expansion franchise. They dropped their original name, the Devil Rays, before the 2008 season, when they reached their only World Series, a five-game loss to the Philadelphia Phillies.

The Dodgers have reigned over the National League West for eight consecutive seasons — they were baseball’s

TYLER KEPNER
ON
BASEBALL



DODGERS RECORD
43-17, .717
1ST PLACE N.L. WEST
TEAM BATTING
118 HOME RUNS
349 RUNS
.256 AVERAGE
TEAM PITCHING
3.02 E.R.A.
(BEST IN MAJORS)
RECORD IN WORLD SERIES
6-14
RECENT SERIES
2018 LOST TO BOSTON RED SOX
2017 LOST TO HOUSTON ASTROS



RAYS RECORD
40-20, .667
1ST PLACE A.L. EAST
TEAM BATTING
80 HOME RUNS
289 RUNS
.238 AVERAGE
TEAM PITCHING
3.56 E.R.A.
(THIRD IN MAJORS)
RECORD IN WORLD SERIES
0-1
ONLY SERIES
2008 LOST TO PHILADELPHIA PHILLIES

Sources: Baseball-Reference.com; MLB.com



best team this year, at 43-17, three games better than the Rays — but have always fallen short in the end. They lost the World Series in 2017 and 2018 and return now after rallying to beat the Atlanta Braves in the N.L. Championship Series after losing three of the first four games.

“From the moment that we were able to put a season together once they figured out the Covid thing, everybody was expecting us to get to the World Series,” said the Dodgers utility man Enrique Hernandez, who tied Game 7 with a pinch-hit homer in the sixth inning. “We were expecting to get to the World Series.

“Up to the point where we went down, 3-1, in this series, we hadn’t really gone through any adversity at all during this season. So that was the one thing: It was time to get it done.”

Did they ever. The Dodgers had faced a three-games-to-one deficit seven times in their postseason history but had never managed to force a Game 7. This time, they won the pennant with a modern twist on a well-worn formula: pitching, defense and timely home runs.

They smacked three homers in Game 5, including two by Corey Seager, the series’ most valuable player, and a go-ahead three-run shot by catcher Will Smith. Seager and Justin Turner went deep in the first inning of Game 6, giving starter Walker Buehler and the bullpen all the run support they needed.

In Game 7, the Dodgers did a bit of everything: a home-run-robbing catch in right field by Mookie Betts; a critical double play keyed by the whirling Turner at third; homers by Hernandez and Cody Bellinger; and six no-hit

Randy Arozarena has led a Rays team of lower-cost role players.

Series Schedule	
GAME 1	Tuesday, 8:09 p.m., Fox
GAME 2	Wednesday, 8:08 p.m., Fox
GAME 3	Friday, 8:08 p.m., Fox
GAME 4	Saturday, 8:08 p.m., Fox
GAME 5*	October 25, 8:08 p.m., Fox
GAME 6*	October 27, 8:08 p.m., Fox
GAME 7*	October 28, 8:09 p.m., Fox
All games at Globe Life Field, Arlington, TX	
*If necessary Times are Eastern	

innings from relievers Blake Treinen, Brusdar Graterol and Julio Urias to finish the game.

“All season we’ve been controlling games and controlling series, but it seems like we were getting handled a little bit early on,” Betts said. “We were able to get ahold of everything, get ahold of ourselves and start to fight back. It just shows the type of group we have. We’re never going to give up.”

The Rays followed their own distinctive trail to the World Series with a best-of-seven path never taken before: win, win, win, loss, loss, loss, win. The Houston Astros were trying to join the 2004 Boston Red Sox as the only team to recover from a 3-0 deficit, but in the end, the Rays made history of their own by ending a free fall.

To do so, they used the veteran moxie of starter Charlie Morton — who also closed out the Dodgers for Houston in the 2017 World Series — and the daily magic of outfielder Randy Arozarena. Morton worked five and two-thirds steady innings in Game 7, and a first-inning homer by Arozarena — his seventh home run of the postseason, a rookie record — gave the Rays a lead they never lost.

“Randy Arozarena, I don’t have any words to describe what he’s done, what he’s meant to us this postseason,” Rays Manager Kevin Cash said. “But for him to have a bat in his hand with an opportunity for a big home run really settled a lot of people in the dugout. It certainly did me.”

Arozarena, the A.L.C.S. most valuable player, hit .321 in the series while the rest of the Rays hit .183. Like the Dodgers, they have made their home runs count, scoring 71.9 percent of their postseason runs on homers (41 of 57), up from 41.5 percent during the 60-game regular season.

The power surge has made up for the Rays’ lack of contact: After leading the majors in strikeouts in the regular

Mookie Betts is one of the high-priced stars the Dodgers have relied on.

season, they whiffed 81 times in seven games against Houston. The last team with so many strikeouts in a postseason series was the 2018 Dodgers, who beat Milwaukee in a seven-game N.L.C.S. despite fanning 82 times.

That Brewers pitching staff relied mostly on an ever-shifting array of arms to keep the Dodgers off balance, a strategy Tampa Bay has also embraced. While the Rays have three solid starters — the right-handers Tyler Glasnow and Morton and the left-hander Blake Snell — they rarely let them face hitters three times in a game, turning quickly to a bullpen filled mostly with young, hard throwers firing from a variety of angles.

Only die-hards will recognize many of the names on the back of the Rays’ jerseys. But they identify and cultivate low-cost players with specific skills — the ability to crush certain types of pitchers, perhaps, or to excel at various spots on defense — and use them in just the right way.

“We’re not a team that’s built with superstar after superstar,” Cash said. “We’re a team that maximizes opportunities and tries to get matchups to help us win games.”

The Rays carried 14 position players in the A.L.C.S., and all of them started at least once. They used four different leadoff hitters in the last five games, and none of the games started and ended with the same eight position players on the field. Only Arozarena and shortstop Willy Adames started every game.

“They’ve got the same amount of men,” Astros Manager Dusty Baker said during the A.L.C.S., “but it seems like they’ve got more men than you because they’ve got a lot of interchangeable parts and they’re used to using them.”

The Dodgers were similar the last time they reached the World Series, which should be no surprise. Their president for baseball operations, Andrew Friedman, built the Rays before leaving for Los Angeles after the 2014 season. Friedman applied many of the same principles there as he did in Tampa Bay, and it showed in the roster.

In the 2018 World Series, the Dodgers relied so heavily on matchups that Bellinger — who was rookie of the year the previous season and M.V.P. the next — started only two of five games against the Red Sox. In the Game 5 clincher that year, which included a homer by Betts for Boston, Hernandez hit third for the Dodgers after not even starting the previous two games.

Now the Dodgers have a much more settled lineup, with Betts, Seager, Bellinger, Turner, Max Muncy, A. J. Pollock and Smith all in the order for 10 of the 11 postseason games. The Dodgers did not exactly plan that, Roberts said, but responded to the players’ performance.

“The players have earned that,” he said. “When lefties are hitting lefties and righties are hitting righties, they’ve earned that. And in ’18, there’s a couple of guys that didn’t show that. I think we would have beat the Red Sox if we would have had Mookie Betts.”

Betts, 28, has not homered yet this postseason, but he is hitting .311 with a .407 on-base percentage and flashing his usual standout defense. The Red Sox traded him in February rather than risk losing him in free agency, but the Dodgers made sure Betts never reached the open market, signing him in July to a 12-year, \$365 million contract extension through 2032.

“I love the coaching staff, the players, the front office — everything about the Dodgers is winning,” Betts said. “That’s in my DNA, so that’s why I chose to stay here.”

The Rays do not compete for expensive veterans like Betts. Their prorated payroll this season was just \$28.2 million, higher than only Pittsburgh and Baltimore, according to Spotrac, which tracks teams’ financial data. The Dodgers ranked second, their \$107.9 million trailing only the Yankees.

Both teams value roster depth, but they shop in different circles to get it. The Dodgers had 16 players who were scheduled to earn at least \$4 million this season before the pandemic. The Rays had five: Morton, Snell, catcher Mike Zunino, outfielder Yoshi Tsutsugo and center fielder Kevin Kiermaier, whose eight years with Tampa Bay make him the team’s longest-tenured player.

“It doesn’t bother me one bit that we’re not big spenders,” Kiermaier said. “I enjoy it, because I was a 31st-round pick back in 2010 and I always thought I was a low-key, under-the-radar type of player coming up. I didn’t think enough people knew about me, but I knew I could do special things and I finally got my opportunity.

“Same with the Rays. We’re a small-market team, not the most popular team out there. But if you do all the little things right, consistently, great things can happen.”

They have happened all season for the Dodgers and the Rays, who will soon decide which land of beaches and palm trees — Southern California or the Florida Suncoast — will celebrate another title from afar.

EZRA SHAW/GETTY IMAGES

PRO FOOTBALL

Romp Over Packers Signals the Buccaneers’ Plan Is Starting to Click

By BEN SHPIGEL

So maybe — maybe, maybe, maybe — this is how the Tampa Bay Buccaneers’ thrust into N.F.C. contention begins.

Maybe it begins with some anticipatory mastery, with a cornerback intercepting a quarterback who never throws interceptions. Or with an almost-full complement of offensive skill players available at last, their renewed health powering consistency, and efficiency. Or with the increased involvement of a tight end who unretired for days like Sunday, when he’s mincing defenses and catching touchdowns and spiking footballs, leaving Gronk-sized divots in the grass.

The Green Bay Packers arrived in the Florida heat as one of the N.F.L.’s four unbeaten teams, with an offense gaining yards and scoring points and throttling opponents at a maximum pace. They trudged off the field at Raymond James Stadium pummeled and discombobulated, unsettled by the outcome and the margin of defeat, yes, but also by how completely Tampa Bay exploited the Packers’ every deficiency.

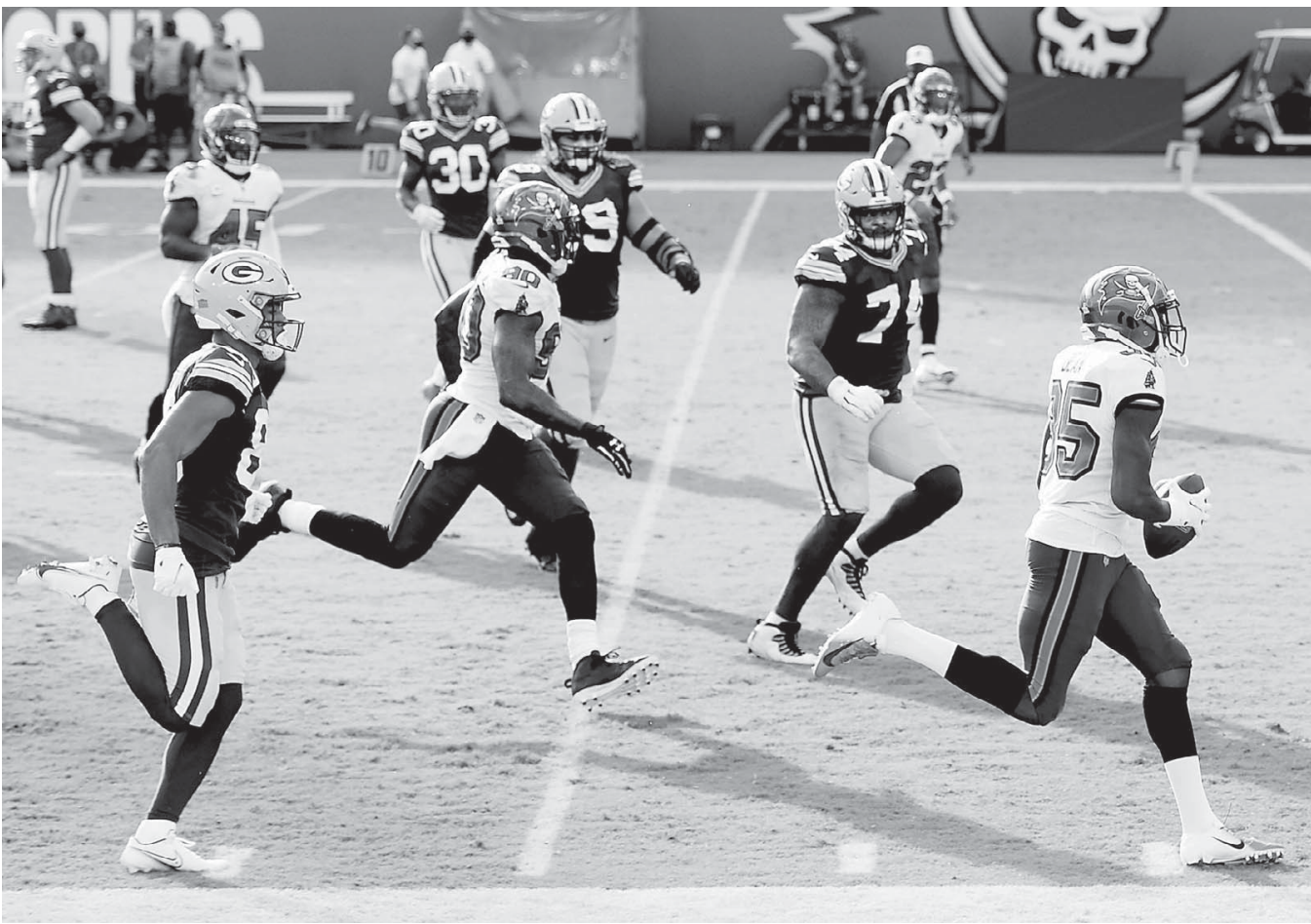
The Buccaneers’ 38-10 victory doubled as validation of an admission they made in the off-season and the commitment they demonstrated to correct it. With their defense ascending, the front office recognized that the pathway to relevance — and indeed, the franchise’s first playoff berth since the 2007 season — entailed acquiring the stylistic antithesis of their incumbent quarterback, Jameis Winston, who had a pesky habit of throwing the ball to the other team.

So Tampa Bay (4-2) signed the six-time Super Bowl champion Tom Brady, thus creating Tampa Bay, an exotic locale — avocado ice cream! pliablility classes! — with an evolved way of thinking: With Brady, at 43, assuming the role of gleeful caretaker, the Buccaneers can win in complementary fashion.

On offense, with the Buccaneers running for nearly as many yards (158) as Brady passed for (166), they didn’t commit a turnover or allow a sack, and converted all four red-zone opportunities. On defense, they converted two takeaways — including Jameis Dean’s return for a touchdown — into 14 points. As a team, Tampa Bay wasn’t penalized even once. The blueprint evoked that of Brady’s former team — where did he play again? New England? — and recalibrated expectations.

“We kind of set a new standard for ourselves,” Coach Bruce Arians said.

Coming off a 20-19 Week 5 loss to Chicago in which Brady may or may not have forgotten (OK, he



JASON BEHNKEN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Tampa Bay cornerback Jameis Dean intercepted an Aaron Rodgers pass and returned it for a touchdown in the first half of Sunday’s game against the Packers.

did) what down it was during a late drive, the Buccaneers regained equilibrium by stuffing the N.F.L.’s most prolific offense. The Packers (4-1) entered Sunday leading the league in points and yards per play and, according to Pro Football Reference, were the first team in league history to score 150 points in their first four games without a giveaway. Undeterred, Tampa Bay’s defensive coordinator, Todd Bowles, told his unit all week that it was going to smother Aaron Rodgers like no other defense had done so far.

Assembling the defense after Green Bay went ahead by 10-0, Bowles told his charges that they were respecting Rodgers and the Packers too much. “They’ve got to earn our respect,” Bowles said, as recounted by linebacker Devin White, who led Tampa Bay with 10 tackles and a sack. Then Bowles reminded his charges of his prediction, and their mission.

In torching the Vikings and the Lions, the Saints and the Falcons, Rodgers had yet to encounter a defense — a secondary, especially — as physical and aggressive as Tampa Bay’s. Facing third-and-10 at his 22-yard line, Rodgers dropped back to pass, his eyes never leaving Davante Adams along the far sideline, which Dean noticed, too.

“When I saw the formation, then I saw how everything started to develop, I’m like, ‘I have to make this play because I know what’s coming,’” Dean said. “And then once I saw him throw it, I was like, ‘Yeah, it’s mine.’”

It was. Undercutting Adams’s route, Dean grabbed the ball and raced 32 yards for a touchdown. Three plays into the Packers’ ensuing series, Mike Edwards snatched a deflected pass and ran down to the Green Bay 2. On the next snap, Ronald Jones rumbled into the end zone for the first of

two touchdowns.

The Packers punted. Tampa Bay scored. The Packers punted again. Tampa Bay scored again — a 12-yard fade from Brady to Rob Gronkowski, his first touchdown since December 2018 and the 91st time they’ve connected for a score, counting the postseason. Across a dizzying 12 minute 30 second span of the second quarter, the Buccaneers held Green Bay without a first down and scored 28 consecutive points.

“We always pride ourselves on having great stars on the offensive side of the ball,” White said, adding, “We want this team to be a defensive team.”

The moment of surrender came after Tampa Bay had sacked Rodgers four times, after its array of pressures and coverages had condemned him to the third-lowest passer rating (35.4) and third-worst completion percentage

(45.7) of his career, when LaFleur pulled him — for his own health, perhaps — for the backup Tim Boyle. Soon, Brady departed, too, in place of Blaine Gabbert, sacrificing another series of work with players he’s still coming to learn, coming to trust, for the privilege of savoring victory.

The backdrop to Brady’s first season in Tampa Bay — chaotic off-season, truncated training camp, managing injuries to receivers Chris Godwin, Mike Evans, Scotty Miller and O.J. Howard — has disrupted the Buccaneers’ continuity; it stands to reason that they, as Brady continues adjusting to a new offense and a new play-caller, will improve over the next few months as much as any team in the league.

In a product of the N.F.L.’s inter-conference scheduling formula, only twice before had Brady and Rodgers faced each other as starters: in 2014, a Green Bay victory,

and in 2018, a New England win. That quirk consigned Brady and Rodgers to an endless state of parallel play — excelling at the same time, but apart from, the other. By signing with the Buccaneers, Brady created more opportunities for tantalizing games against N.F.C. contemporaries like Drew Brees, whose New Orleans Saints reside in Tampa Bay’s division, and Rodgers, who may very well get a rematch come January.

However enticing, it’s impressive to view Tampa Bay’s romp — as well as a potential postseason meeting, should it come to pass — as a matchup between Brady and Rodgers. They were facing defenses scheming to thwart them, and not facing each other. Brady was better this time, his team was, too, and if the Buccaneers are to go on to win their first division title since 2007, they might remember Sunday as the day that catapulted them there.

Going for 2 Points And Getting Zero: Three Case Studies

By VICTOR MATHER

Touchdowns win football games. Turnovers win football games. Dominating the line of scrimmage wins football games.

But sometimes it’s 2-point conversions that win (or lose) football games.

Sunday was not the best day for execution, or decision making, when it came to that sometimes crucial part of the game.

The Washington Football Team

THE SITUATION Washington (1-4) and the Giants (0-5) were desperate for a win to maintain some small chance of saving their seasons. With 36 seconds to go, Washington scored a touchdown to pull to 20-19. Coach Ron Rivera, who has earned the nickname Riverboat Ron because of some bold moves, decided to go for 2.

WHAT HAPPENED Kyle Allen looked for a receiver in the end zone and could not immediately find one. He rolled left and still could not find one. Finally, just as he was about to be sacked, he

unloaded a desperation pass that went to nobody. The Giants won, improving to 1-5.

THE CRITICISM “What is Ron doing? He can just kick the extra point and have a 50-50 chance of winning in overtime!”

THE EXCUSE “I’m playing to win,” Rivera told reporters. “I’m trying to get our players to understand this is how we’re going to do things. We’re going to do things to the max. We’re going to play to win football games.”



AL BELLO/GETTY IMAGES

The Giants pressured Kyle Allen into an incomplection.



MITCHELL LEFF/GETTY IMAGES

Eagles Coach Doug Pederson credited the Ravens for stuffing quarterback Carson Wentz, right.

The Texans

THE SITUATION Houston was up, 30-29, on the undefeated Tennessee Titans with 1 minute 50 seconds left and scored a touchdown on fourth-and-goal to go ahead by 7. Coach Romeo Crennel elected to go for 2.

WHAT HAPPENED A Deshaun Watson pass attempt was tipped by a defender and fell incomplete. The Titans were down by 7, not 8 or 9. Tennessee then successfully executed a two-minute drill, and kicked the extra point to tie the score. In overtime, the

Titans won the toss and drove down the field for a touchdown; the Texans never got the ball.

THE CRITICISM “Come on, Romeo! Take the 8-point lead. Then the Titans will have to score, make a 2-pointer, and even then you’re still tied.”

THE EXCUSE “I wanted to go ahead and get the 2 points,” Crennel told reporters. “It felt like that would kind of put it out of reach for them, and if we would have gotten it, we would have been in much better shape.”



WADE PAYNE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Deshaun Watson’s incomplection led to a Titans comeback.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

M.L.B. PLAYOFFS

LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIP SERIES (Best-of-7)	
American League	
Tampa Bay 4, Houston 3	
At San Diego	
Oct. 11: Tampa Bay 2, Houston 1	
Oct. 12: Tampa Bay 4, Houston 2	
Oct. 13: Tampa Bay 5, Houston 2	
Oct. 14: Houston 4, Tampa Bay 3	
Oct. 15: Houston 4, Tampa Bay 3	
Oct. 16: Houston 7, Tampa Bay 4	
Oct. 17: Tampa Bay 4, Houston 2	
National League	
Los Angeles 4, Atlanta 3	
At Arlington, Texas	
Oct. 12: Atlanta 5, Los Angeles Dodgers 1	
Oct. 13: Atlanta 8, Los Angeles Dodgers 7	
Oct. 14: Los Angeles Dodgers 15, Atlanta 3	
Oct. 15: Atlanta 10, Los Angeles Dodgers 2	
Oct. 16: Los Angeles Dodgers 7, Atlanta 3	
Oct. 17: Los Angeles Dodgers 3, Atlanta 1	
Oct. 18: Los Angeles Dodgers 4, Atlanta 3	
WORLD SERIES (Best-of-7; x-if necessary)	
Los Angeles Dodgers vs. Tampa Bay	
At Arlington, Texas	
(All Games on Fox)	
Tuesday, Oct. 20: Tampa Bay (Glasnow 5-1) vs. Los Angeles Dodgers (Kershaw 6-2), 8:09 p.m.	
Wednesday, Oct. 21: Tampa Bay (Snell 4-2) vs. Los Angeles Dodgers, 8:08 p.m.	
Friday, Oct. 23: Los Angeles Dodgers vs. Tampa Bay, 8:08 p.m.	
Saturday, Oct. 24: Los Angeles Dodgers vs. Tampa Bay, 8:08 p.m.	
x-Sunday, Oct. 25: Los Angeles Dodgers vs. Tampa Bay, 8:08 p.m.	
x-Tuesday, Oct. 27: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers, 8:08 p.m.	
x-Wednesday, Oct. 28: Tampa Bay vs. Los Angeles Dodgers, 8:09 p.m.	

N.F.L. STANDINGS

AMERICAN CONFERENCE									
East	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA			
Buffalo	4	1	0	.800	139	142			
Miami	3	3	0	.500	160	113			
N. England	2	3	0	.400	109	110			
Jets	0	6	0	.000	75	185			
South	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA			
Tennessee	0	0	1	.000	164	126			
Indianapolis	4	2	0	.666	157	115			
Houston	1	5	0	.166	146	182			
Jacksonville	1	5	0	.166	125	181			
North	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA			
Pittsburgh	0	0	1	.000	156	94			
Baltimore	5	1	0	.833	179	104			
Cleveland	4	2	0	.666	163	187			
Cincinnati	1	4	1	.250	129	157			
West	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA			
Kansas City	4	1	0	.800	149	110			
Las Vegas	3	2	0	.600	151	152			
Denver	2	3	0	.400	100	110			
L.A. Chargers	1	4	0	.200	110	125			
NATIONAL CONFERENCE									
East	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA			
Dallas	2	3	0	.400	163	180			
Phil.	1	4	1	.250	141	175			
Giants	1	5	0	.166	101	152			
Washington	1	5	0	.166	108	162			
South	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA			
Tampa Bay	4	2	0	.666	177	122			
New Orleans	3	3	0	.500	153	150			
Carolina	3	3	0	.500	138	141			
Atlanta	1	5	0	.166	162	184			
North	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA			
Chicago	5	1	0	.833	128	116			
Green Bay	4	1	0	.800	162	139			
Detroit	2	3	0	.400	133	143			
Minnesota	1	5	0	.166	155	192			
West	W	L	T	Pct	PF	PA			
Seattle	5	0	0	1.000	169	135			
L.A. Rams	4	2	0	.666	152	114			
Arizona	2	2	0	.500	128	102			
San Fran.	3	3	0	.500	148	130			
Sunday, Oct. 18									
Giants 20, Washington 19									
Miami 24, Jets 0									
Tennessee 42, Houston 36, OT									
Indianapolis 31, Cincinnati 27									
Atlanta 40, Minnesota 23, OT									
Chicago 28, Carolina 16									
Detroit 34, Jacksonville 16									
Pittsburgh 38, Cleveland 7									
Denver 18, New England 12									
Baltimore 30, Philadelphia 28									
Tampa Bay 38, Green Bay 10									
San Francisco 24, L.A. Rams 16									
Opener: L.A. Chargers, Las Vegas, New Orleans, Seattle									
Monday, Oct. 19									
Kansas City at Buffalo									
Arizona at Dallas									
Thursday, Oct. 22									
Giants at Philadelphia, 8:20									

M.L.S. STANDINGS									
Eastern FC	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA			
Toronto FC	12	2	5	41	30	17			
Philadelphia	10	5	5	35	32	18			
San Jose	9	5	6	33	30	20			
Orlando City	8	2	8	30	30	16			
New York FC	8	8	3	27	28	24			
Chicago	8	8	3	27	24	19			
Montreal	7	10	2	23	29	36			
Philadelphia SC	5	6	6	21	25	17			
Chicago II	5	8	2	19	24	29			
San Jose II	5	7	4	19	28	22			
Inter Miami CF	5	11	3	18	19	28			
Cincinnati	4	10	4	16	11	30			
D.C. United	3	11	6	15	17	33			
WEST	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA			
Seattle	9	5	4	31	38	30			
Kansas City	9	6	3	30	31	25			
Los Angeles FC	7	7	4	25	40	34			
Portland	7	7	2	23	24	22			
FC Dallas	6	6	4	24	22	17			
San Jose	6	7	6	24	28	23			
San Francisco	7	12	0	21	22	40			
Portland II	4	7	5	17	20	22			
Houston	4	7	8	20	27	40			
Colorado	5	4	4	19	25	20			
San Jose II	5	9	3	18	22	34			
Saturday, Oct. 19									
Dallas vs Columbus S.C., N.Y.C.F.C. T									
San Jose vs Real Salt Lake, Orlando City T									
Los Angeles FC, United 2, Cincinnati 1									
San Jose II, Atlanta 0									
Houston 2, Minnesota 2									
San Jose vs Los Angeles FC, Portland 1									
L.A. Galaxy I, Vancouver 0									
San Jose vs Portland 1									
Real Salt Lake at Colorado ppd.									
Monday, Oct. 19									
Philadelphia at New England, 8:30 p.m.									
Friday, Oct. 20									
FC Dallas at Nashville, 8:30 p.m.									

M.L.S. STANDINGS

Team	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Toronto FC	12	2	5	41	67	30
Philadelphia	10	3	5	35	32	16
Columbus	10	4	4	34	30	15
Orlando City	8	2	8	32	30	18
New England	7	3	7	28	31	16
N.Y.C.F.C.	8	8	3	27	24	19
Red Bulls	7	8	4	25	22	23
Montreal	7	10	2	23	29	36
Nashville SC	5	6	6	21	15	17
Chicago	5	8	5	20	24	28
Atlanta	5	10	4	19	18	22
Inter Miami CF	5	11	3	18	19	29
Cincinnati	4	11	1	16	11	30
D.C. United	3	10	6	15	17	33
West	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Seattle	9	4	4	31	35	17
Portland	9	5	4	31	38	30
Kansas City	9	6	3	30	31	25
Los Angeles FC	7	7	4	25	40	34
Minnesota	6	5	6	24	28	23
FC Dallas	6	4	6	24	22	17
San Jose	6	7	7	24	28	43
Vancouver	7	12	0	21	22	40
Real Salt Lake	5	7	6	21	24	29
Houston	4	7	8	20	27	32
Colorado	5	4	4	19	25	20
L.A. Galaxy	5	9	3	18	22	34
Sunday, Oct. 18						
Columbus 3, N.Y.C.F.C. 1						
Red Bulls 1, Orlando City 1						
D.C. United 2, Cincinnati 1						
Toronto FC 1, Atlanta 0						
Houston 2, Minnesota 2						
Los Angeles 1, Portland 1						
LA Galaxy 1, Vancouver 0						
Seattle 0, San Jose 0						
Real Salt Lake at Colorado ppd.						
Monday, Oct. 19						
Philadelphia at New England						
Tuesday, Oct. 20						
FC Dallas at Nashville, 8:30 p.m.						

ENGLISH PREMIER LEAGUE

Team	GP	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts
Manchester City	4	4	0	0	12	2	12
Aston Villa	4	4	0	0	12	2	12
Liverpool	5	3	1	1	13	10	10
Manchester United	5	3	0	2	12	8	9
Chelsea	5	3	0	2	12	8	9
Wolverhampton	5	3	0	2	10	7	9
Tottenham	5	2	2	1	15	8	8
Sheffea	5	2	1	2	13	9	8
West Ham	5	2	1	2	8	7	7
Southampton	5	2	1	2	9	9	7
Manchester City	4	2	1	1	7	7	7
Newcastle	5	2	1	2	8	9	7
Leeds	5	2	1	2	8	9	7
Man United	4	2	0	2	9	12	6
Brighton	5	2	1	2	9	11	6
West Brom	5	1	3	9	11	6	6
West Ham	5	1	3	13	2	7	4
Sheffea	5	1	3	13	2	7	4
Sheffea	5	0	1	4	2	7	1
Sunderland	5	0	1	4	12	12	1
Sunday, Oct. 18							
Aston Villa 1, Fulham 1							
Crystal Palace 1, Brighton 1							
Manchester City 3, West Ham 3							
Manchester City 0, Aston Villa 1							
Manchester City 0, Burnley 0							
Leeds 0, Wolverhampton 1							
Friday, Oct. 23							
Aston Villa vs Leeds							

TRANSACTIONS

M.L.B.

International League
ATLANTA BRAVES — Activated RHP Tucker Turner and LHP David Wright, RHPs Adam Lind and David Wright, LHPs Adam Lind and

ENGLISH PREMIER LEAGUE

Team	GP	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts
Manchester City	5	4	1	0	12	2	13
Aston Villa	5	4	0	0	12	2	12
Liverpool	5	3	1	1	13	10	10
Leicester	5	3	0	2	12	8	9
Manchester United	5	3	0	2	8	9	9
Wolverhampton	5	3	0	2	5	7	9
Tottenham	5	2	2	1	15	8	8
Chelsea	5	2	1	1	13	9	8
Sheff Ham	5	2	1	1	11	7	7
Leeds	5	2	1	2	9	9	7
Man City	4	2	1	1	7	7	7
Southampton	5	2	1	2	9	7	7
Newcastle	5	2	1	2	7	9	7
Crystal Palace	5	2	1	2	6	8	7
Man United	4	2	0	2	9	12	6
Brighton	5	1	1	3	9	11	4
West Brom	5	1	0	3	5	13	2
Burnley	4	0	1	3	3	8	1
Sheffield United	5	0	1	4	2	7	1
Fulham	5	0	1	4	4	12	1

Friday, Oct. 18
Sheffield United 1, Fulham 1
Sheffield United 1, Brighton 1
Manchester City, West Ham 3
Monday, Oct. 19
West Brom 0, Burnley 0
Leeds 0, Wolverhampton 1
Friday, Oct. 23
Sheff Ham vs. Leeds

TRANSACTIONS

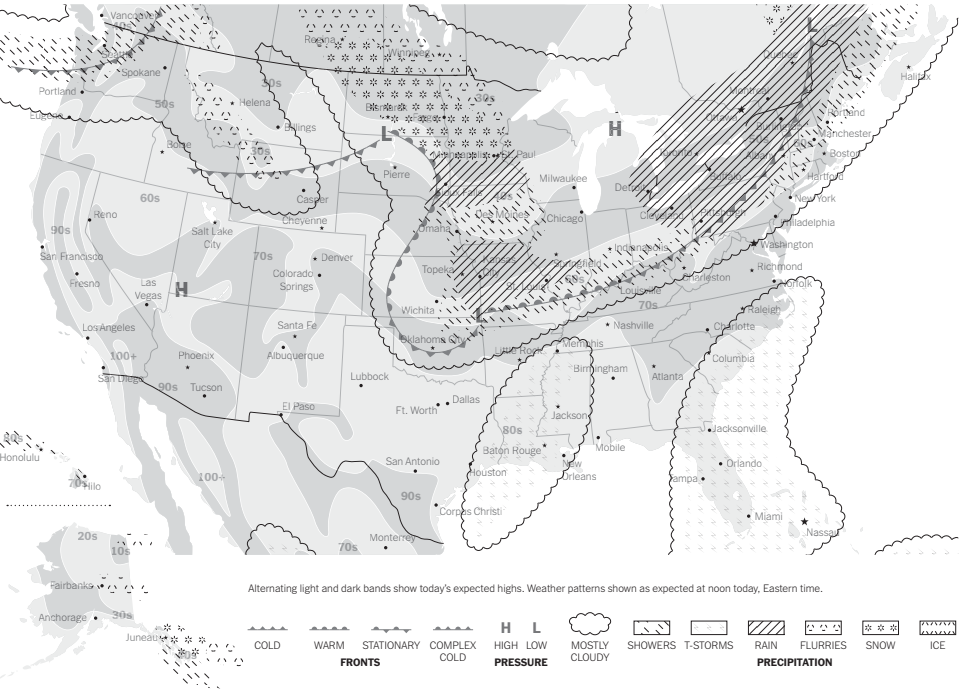
M.L.B.
National League
JAVIERA LANTANA BRAYES → Activated OFs Tucker Davidson and Endre Incinerator, INFs Anderson Lechavarsira, Alex Jackson, Toulou Toussaint and Chad Sobolka, Jassess
DE LA CRUZ, Luke Jackson, Toulou Toussaint and Patrick Weigel and LHPs Tucker Davidson and Sean Newcomb.
BRIGHTON VANDER VASH → Activated viceroy president and general manager Nickerson
HILL will head the baseball operations department.

Baseball Operations NATIONALS → Agreed to terms with pitching coach Mike Hickey.

N.F.L.
BUFFALO BILLS → Promoted DE Bryce Johnson and DT Justin Zommer to the active roster.
CINCINNATI PATRIOTS → Signed DL Marcus Hunt. Waived DT Andrew Brown.
CINCINNATI COWBOYS → Activated LB Tylor Lawson on injured reserve.
DALLAS QB Dak Prescott and DT Tylor Lawson on injured reserve.
DETROIT LIONS → Signed DT Albert Williams to the practice squad.
JACKSONVILLE JAGUARS → Signed DE Meadors to the practice squad.
MINNESOTA TITANS → Activated WR Corey Davis from the reserve/COVID-19 list.
TAYLOR LAWSON on injured reserve.

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



National Forecast

A storm system will swing across the northern Plains and upper Midwest, bringing accumulating snow from the eastern Dakotas to the northern Great Lakes. A narrow swath of several inches of accumulation is expected from central Minnesota into northern Wisconsin. Up to 10 inches of snow may be possible in this area.

Showers will push through portions of the interior Northeast. Ahead of these showers, closer to the coast from New England into the Mid-Atlantic, it will be a dry and mild day with above-average

temperatures. It will be seasonably chilly, but dry spanning across much of the lower Great Lakes.

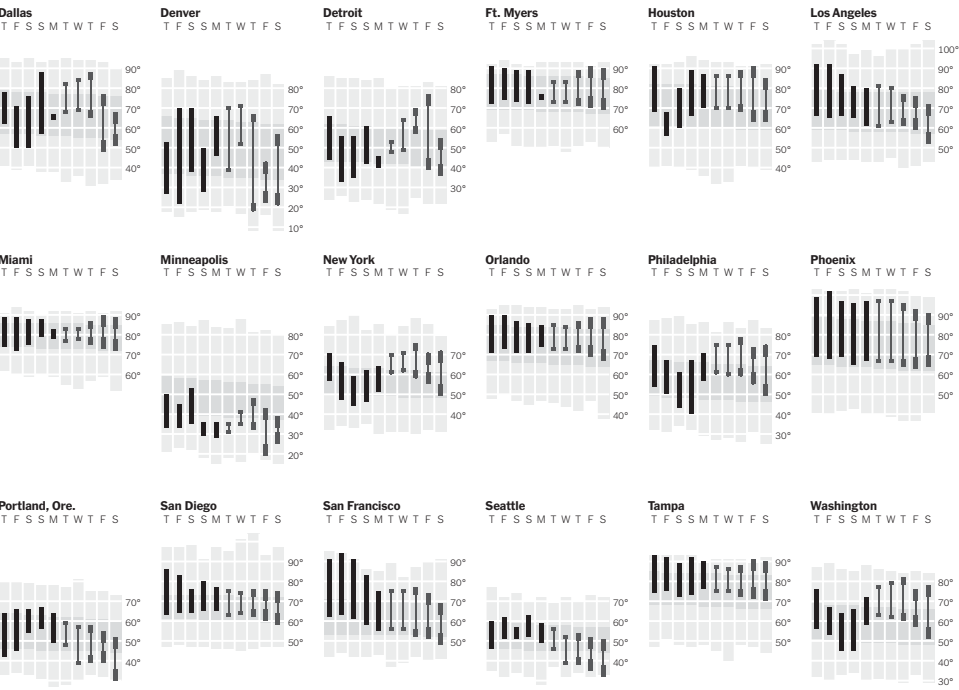
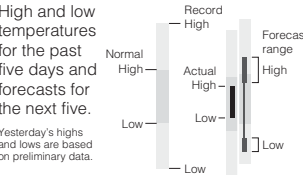
In the Southeast, it will be dry and warm for most. However, showers and thunderstorms will pester the Florida Peninsula, especially South Florida. Gusty winds will also lead to a high risk for rip currents and some coastal flooding along Florida's Atlantic Coast.

In the West, it will be cool across the Northwest, with a couple of showers or flurries in the northern Rockies and Cas-

cades. The Southwest will remain hot and dry. Another storm will bring more mountain snow to the northern Rockies Wednesday.

FOCUS: TROPICAL STORM EPSILON FORMS
Tropical Storm Epsilon formed out over the western Atlantic on Monday. Epsilon will move slowly toward the northwest this week. Epsilon may become a hurricane as it passes close to Bermuda late this week. Epsilon will produce rough surf along the East Coast.

10-Day Temperature Trends



Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	S	Sun
F	Fog	Sn	Snow
H	Haze	SS	Snow showers
I	Ice	T	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	Tr	Trace
R	Rain	W	Windy
Sh	Showers	-	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	64/ 51	0	70/ 61 PC
Bridgeport	65/ 49	0	69/ 60 PC
Caldwell	66/ 46	0	73/ 59 PC
Danbury	62/ 39	0	68/ 56 PC
Hill	65/ 46	0	69/ 59 PC
Newark	66/ 47	0	73/ 61 PC
Trenton	68/ 45	0	72/ 59 PC
White Plains	63/ 45	0	68/ 58 PC

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	57/ 52	0	61/ 49 R
Albuquerque	81/ 49	0	80/ 48 S
Anchorage	39/ 29	0	40/ 28 PC
Atlanta	75/ 57	0	79/ 63 PC
Atlantic City	68/ 60	0	73/ 65 PC
Austin	90/ 72 Tr	88/ 70 T	88/ 69 T
Baltimore	72/ 56	0	76/ 59 PC
Baton Rouge	86/ 73	0	86/ 65 C
Billings	35/ 34	0.24	39/ 30 PC
Birmingham	81/ 59	0	83/ 62 PC
Boise	68/ 43	0	63/ 44 PC
Boston	58/ 49	0	70/ 57 PC
Buffalo	51/ 46	0.22	54/ 48 C
Burlington	58/ 52	0.03	58/ 46 R
Casper	67/ 37	0	50/ 29 PC
Cedar Rapids	34/ 29	0.16	46/ 36 Sh
Champaign	52/ 40	0.16	60/ 52 C
Charleston, W.Va.	62/ 45	0.02	64/ 60 Sh
Charlotte	73/ 52	0	78/ 61 PC
Chattanooga	78/ 55	0	80/ 58 PC
Chicago	50/ 40	0.01	53/ 47 C
Cincinnati	58/ 52	1.24	64/ 60 Sh
Cleveland	53/ 48	0.53	55/ 52 C
Colorado Springs	70/ 45	0	75/ 38 PC
Columbia, Mo.	48/ 41	Tr	61/ 49 R
Columbia, S.C.	78/ 57	0	81/ 65 PC
Columbus	58/ 52	0.91	60/ 53 C
Concord, N.H.	61/ 44	0	63/ 50 C
Dallas-Ft. Worth	67/ 64	Tr	82/ 68 C
Dayton	53/ 48	0.89	62/ 59 C
Denver	66/ 46	0	70/ 39 PC
Des Moines	39/ 33	0.13	45/ 36 C
Detroit	46/ 40	0.14	53/ 48 PC
El Paso	89/ 55	0	89/ 56 S
Eugene	67/ 45	0	64/ 47 PC
Fairbanks	25/ 17	0.11	27/ 17 C
Fargo	35/ 26	Tr	38/ 28 S
Fort Myers	77/ 74	0.41	83/ 73 T
Fresno	89/ 59	0	88/ 59 S
Gainesville, Fla.	86/ 69	Tr	84/ 70 T
Grand Rapids	51/ 36	0	51/ 45 C
Greensboro	71/ 50	0	76/ 59 PC
Greenville, S.C.	72/ 50	0	76/ 58 PC
Harrisburg	67/ 57	Tr	69/ 59 C
Hartford	64/ 49	0	69/ 56 C
Honolulu	85/ 76	0.02	84/ 74 Sh
Houston	87/ 70	Tr	86/ 70 PC
Indianapolis	50/ 44	0.84	60/ 57 C
Jackson	83/ 62	0	86/ 62 C
Jacksonville	78/ 69	0	81/ 71 T
Johnstown, Pa.	54/ 53	0.04	64/ 56 Sh
Kansas City	45/ 39	0	54/ 43 R
Key West	86/ 77	0.48	84/ 77 T
Knoxville	74/ 51	0	77/ 52 PC
Lansing	50/ 35	0	51/ 46 C
Las Vegas	91/ 63	0	90/ 62 S
Lexington	63/ 59	0.33	70/ 57 C
Little Rock	81/ 62	0	79/ 61 T
Los Angeles	80/ 61	0	81/ 61 PC
Louisville	65/ 60	0.72	70/ 62 Sh
Lubbock	68/ 52	0.05	84/ 56 PC
Madison	37/ 28	0.01	48/ 39 PC
Memphis	82/ 65	0	81/ 64 PC
Miami	83/ 78	0.35	83/ 77 T
Minneapolis	44/ 35	0	51/ 45 C
Mpls.-St. Paul	36/ 28	0.04	35/ 31 Sn
Mobile	84/ 63	0	86/ 66 PC
Monterey, Calif.	65/ 52	0	69/ 54 PC
Nashville	79/ 63	0	81/ 59 C
New Orleans	84/ 71	0	85/ 72 C
Norfolk	76/ 65	0	76/ 66 PC
Oklahoma City	60/ 48	Tr	73/ 59 C
Omaha	46/ 34	0.01	50/ 35 C
Orlando	85/ 74	0.50	85/ 73 T
Philadelphia	67/ 57	0	75/ 61 PC
Phoenix	97/ 67	0	97/ 67 S
Pittsburgh	57/ 53	0.37	63/ 57 R
Portland, Me.	59/ 46	0	61/ 49 C
Portland, Ore.	64/ 49	0.01	59/ 48 C
Providence	65/ 49	0	70/ 62 S
Raleigh	76/ 55	0	78/ 62 S
Reno	80/ 42	0	77/ 42 PC
Richmond	76/ 57	0	77/ 63 PC
Rochester	53/ 47	0.37	52/ 47 R
Sacramento	90/ 52	0	90/ 54 S
Salt Lake City	72/ 48	0	70/ 47 S
San Antonio	90/ 72	0	88/ 71 PC
San Diego	77/ 65	0	75/ 63 PC
San Francisco	75/ 55	0	75/ 56 PC
San Jose	80/ 55	0	83/ 57 S
San Juan	88/ 76	0.04	88/ 76 S
Savannah	83/ 65	0	84/ 71 T
Seattle	59/ 49	0.01	56/ 46 C
Shreveport	85/ 67	0	85/ 65 C

Sioux Falls	37/ 30	0.02	42/ 29 R
South Bend	49/ 38	0.05	54/ 50 PC
Spokane	59/ 38	0	53/ 35 PC
St. Louis	51/ 44	0.51	63/ 56 C
St. Thomas	88/ 79	0	87/ 79 S
Syracuse	58/ 52	0.35	57/ 48 R
Tampa	90/ 76	0.23	87/ 75 T
Toledo	50/ 42	0.44	55/ 52 PC
Tucson	94/ 59	0	95/ 60 S
Tulsa	54/ 48	0.06	73/ 60 Sh
Virginia Beach	72/ 65	0	75/ 65 PC
Waco	79/ 68	0	86/ 69 PC
Washington	72/ 58	0	77/ 63 PC
West Palm Beach	81/ 78	3.08	83/ 78 T
Wichita	54/ 41	0	60/ 49 C
Wilkes-Barre	64/ 57	0.02	69/ 59 C
Wilmington, Del.	68/ 56	0	74/ 59 PC

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Abidjan	84/ 77	0.04	84/ 75 T
Algiers	79/ 48	0	89/ 63 PC
Cairo	91/ 70	0	90/ 70 S
Cape Town	64/ 57	0	67/ 49 PC
Casablanca	84/ 56	0	92/ 63 W
Dakar	91/ 82	0	92/ 82 PC
Johannesburg	86/ 68	0	89/ 68 S
Nairobi	61/ 41	0	76/ 60 PC
Tunis	73/ 57	0	79/ 62 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Almaty	73/ 43	0	71/ 46 S
Auckland	65/ 57	0.04	68/ 57 C
Baghdad	97/ 65	0	96/ 65 PC
Bali	85/ 76	0.22	86/ 79 T
Bangkok	92/ 73	0.04	87/ 74 T
Beijing	73/ 43	0	68/ 47 PC
Damascus	90/ 54	0	89/ 50 PC
Dhaka	91/ 79	0.58	90/ 78 T
Hanoi	73/ 70	0.12	75/ 66 C
Hong Kong	82/ 70	0.02	85/ 71 S
Islamabad	90/ 59	0	90/ 61 PC
Jakarta	90/ 77	0.02	90/ 76 T
Jerusalem	85/ 62	0	81/ 63 S
Karachi	96/ 78	0	95/ 67 S
Kolkata	91/ 71	0.16	93/ 38 C
Kuala Lumpur	91/ 79	0.10	91/ 77 C
Lahore	95/ 64	0	92/ 65 PC
Manila	91/ 77	0.06	84/ 79 T
Melbourne	66/ 48	0	65/ 50 PC
Mumbai	86/ 82	0.05	90/ 59 S
New Delhi	97/ 64	0	91/ 64 PC
Riyadh	90/ 64	0	92/ 65 PC
Seoul	70/ 46	0	70/ 49 PC
Singapore	91/ 73	0	93/ 52 PC
Singapore	88/ 81	0	87/ 78 R
Sydney	70/ 56	0.09	68/ 58 S
Taipei City	76/ 71	0.08	78/ 75 R
Tehran	80/ 54	0	79/ 55 S
Tel Aviv	90/ 74	0	91/ 74 T
Tokyo	64/ 57	0.51	68/ 57 PC
Yokohama	61/ 52	0	60/ 53 S

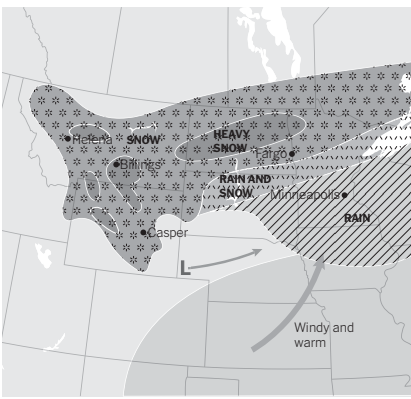
Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	54/ 43	0.71	58/ 54 R
Athens	70/ 61	0	74/ 61 PC
Barcelona	70/ 48	0	70/ 62 C
Belgrade	59/ 37	0	60/ 43 S
Brussels	57/ 42	0	59/ 55 R
Budapest	55/ 32	0.06	58/ 40 S
Copenhagen	52/ 37	0	54/ 50 C
Dublin	54/ 52	0.31	58/ 47 R
Edinburgh	57/ 34	0.33	57/ 43 R
Frankfurt	55/ 43	0	60/ 50 C
Geneva	55/ 36	0	63/ 47 PC
Helsinki	37/ 29	0.22	39/ 30 C
Istanbul	65/ 56	0.02	67/ 62 PC
Kiev	50/ 37	0	50/ 38 C
Lisbon	67/ 59	0.84	65/ 59 R
London	59/ 46	0	66/ 56 PC
Madrid	73/ 41	0	71/ 58 R
Moscow	43/ 34	0.04	39/ 28 S
Nice	55/ 52	0	65/ 55 C
Oslo	45/ 33	0	42/ 40 R
Paris	59/ 40	0	61/ 57 R
Prague	51/ 42	0	55/ 42 PC
Rome	68/ 48	0	68/ 48 S
St. Petersburg	40/ 34	0.31	40/ 29 PC
Stockholm	41/ 32	0	43/ 41 R
Vienna	53/ 39	0	57/ 44 W
Warsaw	50/ 41	0	52/ 45 C

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	87/ 75	0.04	88/ 77 T
Bermuda	82/ 76	0.02	82/ 76 S
Calgary	36/ 21	0	36/ 21 S
Edmonton	27/ 18	0.04	35/ 18 PC
Guadalajara	86/ 59	0	84/ 55 T
Havana	84/ 72	0.13	84/ 72 T
Kingston	88/ 76	0	87/ 79 T
Marquette	89/ 75	0	89/ 75 PC
Mexico City	76/ 47	0	75/ 52 S
Monterrey	88/ 64	0	89/ 68 S
Montreal	55/ 48	0.20	54/ 42 Sh
Nassau	84/ 75	0.27	86/ 77 T
Panama City	82/ 73	0.03	82/ 76 T
Quebec City	52/ 46	0.04	52/ 36 R
Santo Domingo	91/ 72	0.01	88/ 72 T
Toronto	49/ 43	0.16	53/ 46 C
Vancouver	55/ 48	Tr	53/ 44 PC
Winnipeg	37/ 22	0	37/ 26 Sn

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Bogota	66/ 50	0.02	66/ 49 C
Buenos Aires	77/ 72	0	61/ 58 Sh
Caracas	90/ 73	0.05	90/ 75 Sh
Lima	72/ 58	0	67/ 61 PC
Quito	65/ 52	0.48	68/ 51 Sh
Recife	86/ 77	0.03	85/ 77 PC
Rio de Janeiro	82/ 70	0	81/ 72 PC
Santiago	79/ 45	0	82/ 50 S
Sao Paulo	81/ 63	0.13	80/ 64 T

Highlight: More Snow for the Northern Plains

Another in a series of storms will bring significant snowfall to portions of the northern Rockies and Plains Wednesday night into Thursday. There is the potential for over half a foot of snow from parts of Montana and Wyoming to North Dakota. Just south of the snow area, a narrow band of sleet and freezing rain may develop. Motorists traveling through this region should expect slow travel.



The New York Times

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FULL TIME

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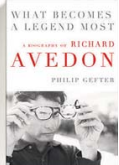
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2 DANCE
Ballet rises to the moment, on a rooftop. BY GIA KOURLAS

4 THEATER REVIEW
A history play confronts the here and now. BY JESSE GREEN



3 BOOK REVIEW
A legacy of more heft than ‘celebrity photographer.’
BY DWIGHT GARNER

Arts

The New York Times

Helping A Bubble Stay Afloat

Dr. Wendy Ziecheck, a former ballerina, keeps dancers safe.

By ROSLYN SULCAS

Bubble, part of the growing coronavirus vocabulary — the R-factor, zoonotic, sheltering in place — can be used as a noun (“My bubble with 25 other dancers”) or a verb (“Yes, 25! We were bubbling!”).

Either way, bubbling has gained traction in the dance world as companies and organizations try to find ways of bringing artists together to create work in a safe environment. That involves rules, medical protocols, tests and vigilance, and it requires a presiding authority to decide what those should be.

Enter Dr. Wendy Ziecheck, a Manhattan internist, who trained with George Balanchine’s doctor and was the medical director for the Rockettes before taking this unlikely new career path. She is currently supervising a bubble for Dance Theater of Harlem, which recently traveled together to a secluded residency center, Kaatsbaan, in Tivoli, N.Y., to work for three weeks. (While there, the dancers will chat on Zoom to patrons, and host a dance party, during the company’s virtual gala on Monday.)

She is also consulting for the coming on-line Fall for Dance season at New York City Center; the Works & Process program at the Guggenheim, which has carried out six bubbles in upstate New York this year; and the New York City Ballet-run New York Choreographic Institute, which currently has 22 dancers installed at the Martha’s Vineyard Performing Arts Center.

It was Duke Dang, the general manager

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ROBERTA SMITH
ART REVIEW



TITUS KAPHAR AND THE HUDGINS FAMILY, VIA GAGOSIAN

Titus Kaphar’s “The distance between what we have and what we want,” from 2019, is in his new show.

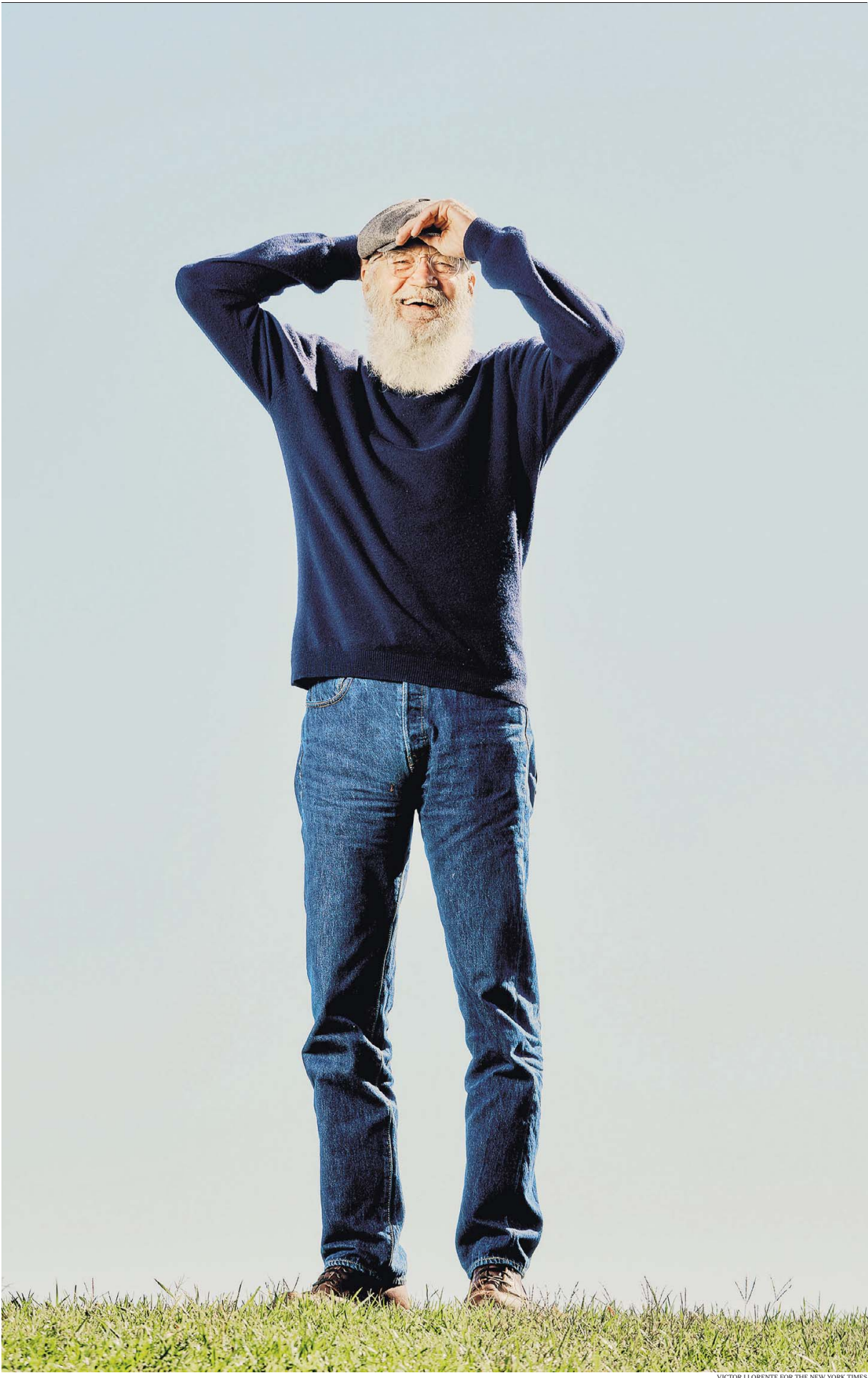
The Perils Of Parenting While Black

A painter looks toward contemporary traumas.

TITUS KAPHAR’S PAINTINGS have always been blunt in confronting both the paucity of Black figures in traditional Western art and the tragic inequities of Black life in the United States. Mr. Kaphar accomplishes this by being a skilled realist painter adept at violating his medium in startling ways to make his points, whether by tearing or cutting his canvases, or covering parts of his images with tar or white-wash. His paintings are conceptual objects freighted with historical or present-day references that require little explanation. They verge on didactic except for the visual richness and emotional directness with which they examine their entwined subjects.

With his show of 11 new paintings, Mr. Kaphar becomes the latest successful Black artist to have been taken up by a blue-chip gallery — Gagosian — acting on instincts at once admirable and calculating. And like

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VICTOR LLORENTE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

He Isn’t Here To Cheer You Up

David Letterman is more melancholy than mirthful as his Netflix series comes back.

By DAVE ITZKOFF

TARRYTOWN, N.Y. — A few days after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, David Letterman sat behind his desk at CBS’s “Late Show” and shared the story of a rally in Chateau, Mont., to raise money for New York. Getting choked up, he told his viewers, “If that doesn’t tell you everything you need to know about the spirit of the United States, then I can’t help you.”

Nineteen years later, with the country in the midst of a monthslong pandemic, Letterman found it difficult to conjure up any similarly inspiring anecdotes. One morning

last week, this veteran late-night host, broadcaster and comedian, now 73, was sitting in a park here, contemplating the Hudson River and cracking wise about the Governor Mario M. Cuomo Bridge.

“It looks kind of unfinished,” he said through a fabric mask that barely held back his unruly beard. “Doesn’t it look like the new kid got to design it?”

But truth be told, Letterman was in a more melancholy than mirthful frame of mind. Though he, his wife, Regina, and their son, Harry, have remained safe, he knows several people who were stricken by coronavirus, some of whom died from it. And he is deeply frustrated by what he feels have been inconsistent, nationwide efforts to inform people about the pandemic and mitigate its spread.

While hardly its most devastating casualty, Letterman’s Netflix interview show, “My Next Guest Needs No Introduction,” returns on Wednesday but nearly came to a halt. He had recorded two episodes, with Kim Kardashian West and with Robert

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The Leader Of a Boston Theater Steps Down

Strife had plagued the Huntington troupe.

By JULIA JACOBS

The artistic director of the Huntington Theater Company in Boston has resigned, the company said last week, after months of upheaval over the workplace environment and an airing of grievances about the conduct of senior leaders.

The director, Peter DuBois, led the company for 12 years before his departure, according to a statement from the president and chairman of the company's board of trustees. The statement did not offer a clear reason for the resignation but said it had come at a time when the challenges of the pandemic had "illuminated concerns about the theater's workplace environment and issues of structural imbalance."

A spokeswoman for the theater company, Temple Gill, said that DuBois's resignation followed a board investigation that began after a complaint was received last month. She declined to elaborate on the nature of the complaint but said that 20 staff members had been interviewed and had spoken about a variety of issues surrounding workplace culture.

The Boston Globe reported that a group of employees had sent an email to board leaders last month expressing concerns about "retaliation from supervisors and an overall lack of accountability in leadership."

In a statement by email, DuBois said that "during a time when the theater is not producing, and during a time of truly hopeful cultural transformation, I am no longer the right person for the job."

The Huntington is a significant presence in Boston's performing arts landscape. It runs the Broadway-style proscenium house Huntington Avenue Theater; a smaller black box space; and the Stanford Calderwood Pavilion in



Peter DuBois resigned.

Boston's South End, which the company built in 2004.

It has also gained national recognition. In 2013, during DuBois's tenure, the company won a special Tony Award recognizing excellence in regional theater. The company, which says it has sent 18 plays to Broadway or Off Broadway, has a stated commitment to supporting the work of living playwrights; it boasted a long relationship with the playwright August Wilson, who staged early productions of several plays at the Huntington before they headed to New York. The turmoil intensified in August, when an Instagram account called Boston BIPOC Theater, using an acronym for Black and Indigenous people and people of color, was created to publish descriptions of anonymous experiences from arts workers in the city amid an industrywide outcry around institutional racism.

Many of the posts on the account were directed at the Huntington. Anonymous people who identified themselves as current or former employees wrote about "deep-rooted issues with institutional racism" at the company and took issue with the ways in which the company had terminated workers during the pandemic.

At one point, the Huntington was called on to respond directly to the Instagram posts, and it did, commenting, in part, "While we feel social media is not the best medium to conduct these complex conversations, we hear your voices and are working on these issues daily."

In recent months, the Huntington laid off 11 employees and furloughed about 46 others, Gill said. The company, which has paused its season indefinitely, estimates that it has lost about \$6.3 million as a result of canceled shows and lost rental income.

In the company's statement last Wednesday, the board leaders wrote that the Huntington was using the time while it was not producing shows to "become a more equitable institution" and to increase "dialogue with our BIPOC staff and artists."

DuBois said that he was proud of the progress that had been made in diversity at the Huntington during his tenure, noting that if the pandemic had not struck, more than half of the theater's actor contracts last season would have gone to artists of color.



Jacqueline Bologna, left, and Cainan Weber of New York City Ballet performing as part of a fund-raising event on the rooftop of the Empire Hotel near Lincoln Center on Sunday.

Elevated Performances Lift Spirits

Ballet dancers head to a Manhattan rooftop for a show to aid struggling colleagues.

A DANCE ON A ROOFTOP is a mysterious thing. How is it that a roof is more like water than land? The breeze that comes with elevation, the way the air dances around you as you watch bodies in motion, unlocks something that can't be replicated on a stage or even, for some strange reason, on grass.

On Sunday, the rooftop in question — at the Empire Hotel — made up for its small size by location: It was only half a block away from Lincoln Center, where performances have been paused since the lockdown began in March.

At the Empire, Dancers of N.Y.C.B., a new organization developed to support members of New York City Ballet during the pandemic, presented a benefit performance featuring choreography by former and current company members: Preston Chamblee, Lauren Lovette, Benjamin Millepied, Justin Peck, Janie Taylor and Christopher Wheeldon.

The City Ballet dancers Daniel Applebaum and Lauren King produced the program along with Melissa Gerstein, a former dancer whose daughter attends the City Ballet-affiliated School of American Ballet. It was a group effort, initiated by Ms. Gerstein who, during a welcoming speech, took off her mask for a brief moment to scream, "Yes!" (She clearly missed watching live dance as much as the dancers missed dancing.)

The stage was a small patch of Marley flooring, with mirrors hanging on two sides of its perimeter to open up the possibility of seeing dancers from different perspectives. Meaghan Dutton-O'Hara — brave, determined and standing tall in her point shoes — led the way with an excerpt from Mr. Wheeldon's enduring "Polyphonia," in

Six short works featured masked dancers and choreography by former and current members of New York City Ballet.

which she took care to display every angle with illuminating, fluid sweep. All the dancers wore masks, which made their eyes more pronounced, both to good and distracting effect; Ms. Dutton-O'Hara knows how to make hers enhance the steps.

Along with excerpts from works by Mr. Millepied and Mr. Peck — both serviceable, though neither particularly inspiring — were new pieces, beginning with Mr. Chamblee's "An Awaited Breath," set to music by Fanny Mendelssohn, for the dancers Jacqueline Bologna and Cainan Weber. It spoke to the turmoil of the moment, with falls to the floor, deep contractions and imploring arms, yet its images of resignation and hope had a tendency to ramble on.

The other two ballets, though just as brief, possessed more point of view. How great is it when the moment a ballet starts, you know exactly who choreographed it? It relates to the choreographers' dancing: From Ms. Taylor, a former City Ballet principal, the quality had to do with a way of melding specificity with wild, carefree abandon; from Ms. Lovette, a current principal, it was the entrancing ability to take positions and loosen them into silken shapes full of power and passion.

Ms. Taylor's "Schmaltz for Two" — a funny title for such a dramatic but unsentimental dance — woke up the space. Anthony Huxley and Kristen Segin, clad in fire engine red polo tops, faced each other, in sync yet apart, as they circled the tiny stage with flexed wrists; suddenly, their feet burst into a spray of small kicks.

In this miniature triptych to music by Joaquín Turina, Aaron Copland, György



Far left, Kristen Segin, with mirrors, in Janie Taylor's "Schmaltz for Two." Near left, Andrew Scordato. Below, Meaghan Dutton-O'Hara in an excerpt from Christopher Wheeldon's "Polyphonia."



Above, Lauren Collett, left, and Emma Von Enck in a work by Lauren Lovette, "Wound Up Wind Down."

Kurtág and Erik Satie, Ms. Segin, gutsy and electric, next appeared alone, using her elastic torso to dart from here to there trailed by her whipping ponytail. She was followed by Mr. Huxley, whose solo — full of quick stops and starts — made much of his impeccable line and ease of musicality until he, just as she had, collapsed to the floor.

The stage become a living canvas as they awoke to Satie: Crawling, sliding and rolling, they eventually made their way upright with a catlike stretch and their arms raised to the sky. Facing each other, they lowered into a first position plié before drooping over — their bodies limp like

thirsty plants — and stepped sideways reaching their arms toward each other as they backed off the stage as if illustrating a lost embrace. Actually, that last bit was a moment of schmaltz. My heart sank. It was a little anticlimactic and even more cliché.

Ms. Lovette's "Wound Up Wind Down," set to "Thankyoubranch" by the American-Dutch duo the Books, featured another impressive pairing: Lauren Collett and Emma Von Enck, each in belted knitted dance overalls in pale pink and blue. Positioned back to back, they stretched their arms out, bending forward as their limbs buckled and contorted to create a portrait of mingling sensibilities: eccentric and electric.

Shapes came fast, sometimes in a way that made the choreography look under-rehearsed and blurry. But Ms. Lovette's vision, a meld of classical and jazz dance with a strains of folk and the occasional back-bend, created a particular kind of space for two women to express, in both energetic and despondent ways, something that we've all been dealing with for the past seven months: being trapped in a room.

It couldn't have been a coincidence that each new work had dancers, in some form or another, falling to the floor. Sometimes I feel like doing that, too. But the way these City Ballet dancers banded together — handling customer service, laying down a Marley floor on the roof of a hotel, curating a program — was encouraging. They put on a show, and at least for one afternoon, they got to dance again.

Helping a Bubble of Dancers Stay Afloat

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

of Works & Process, who first approached Dr. Ziecheck. In a telephone interview, Mr. Dang said he had been thinking about how the actor and film producer Tyler Perry had put his cast and crew in a bubble to keep working, as had the National Basketball Association, and wondered if this could be a model for Works & Process.

First, Mr. Dang consulted a bioethicist, Dr. Robert Klitzman, to make sure it was ethical “to approach artists with the opportunity at a time of such vulnerability and unknown.” The answer was yes, and a friend recommended Dr. Ziecheck to help with protocols. By early June, he was booking artists and residency centers in upstate New York that were going unused.

A bubble, though, is an expensive affair. Works & Process had some money put aside for a rainy day, Mr. Dang said, “and by anyone’s definition this is a rainy day.” Virginia Johnson, the artistic director of Dance Theater of Harlem, said it cost the company “over \$100,000 to do this for three weeks.” It wasn’t an option, she said, until the Mellon and Alphadyne Foundations contributed money to make it happen.

It helps that Dr. Ziecheck was a dancer in a previous life. “I like to say I’m a much better doctor than I ever was a dancer!” she said in a Skype conversation. She studied at the Washington School of Ballet (as did Ms. Johnson, who remembered her) and danced with pickup groups around the country, including a stint with Ballet Oklahoma, then run by Edward Villella.

After a knee injury in 1983, she had three surgeries and managed to continue dancing until 1987. Her surgeon, Dr. William Hamilton, who had worked closely with New York City Ballet since the 1970s, was an inspiration. But she said other doctors she dealt with were dismissive and uninformed. “I said to myself, ‘I can do a better job at this than they can.’”

Encouraged by a family tradition of female doctors and nurses, she headed to medical school. “I was interested to know why my body had betrayed me,” she said.

In the Skype conversation, Dr. Ziecheck, 64 (“going on 44” she wrote in an email), talked about her long involvement with the dance world, what happens in her bubbles and the highlights of her new role. Here are edited excerpts from our conversation.

How did you become involved with dancers as a doctor?

After I graduated [from medical school], I was lucky enough to become affiliated with Dr. Edith Langner, Balanchine’s doctor, which was sheer serendipity. There were a lot of dance world stars who came to her. When she retired, I took over.

You were medical director of the Rockettes from 2008 to 2019. What did your job involve?

The Rockettes have quite an elaborate wellness program that is a well-oiled machine. I had a little office in Radio City Music Hall, and would go there for a couple of hours a week to see them. They tend to have a lot of neck injuries because they have to wear these huge headpieces, like animal heads,



MARIDELIS MORALES ROSADO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

and sometimes someone would get smacked in the face with a prop and lose a tooth. It was definitely more of a contact sport than ballet!

What did you think when you were approached by Duke Dang about putting together bubble protocol?

I immediately believed we could make it work with proper protocols and adequate testing. Unfortunately the dance world is not as well funded as the sports world. We couldn’t, for example, do the daily testing that the N.B.A. do. I doctored (sorry!) their protocol, using New York City guidelines, to incorporate frequent testing and quarantining.

I already had my own laboratory in my office, for basic medical tests, and once the rapid antigen test became available, the whole thing was feasible.

Talk us through exactly what happens.

We sequester the dancers for 14 days before they go into their residency bubble. We ask

them to maintain distance from family or household members, if there are any, to stay home, wear masks and limit their exposure. On Day 5 they get their first antigen test, and we ask them to really hunker down after that. On the day of departure, each one is tested at my office, and isolated for 15 minutes until the result is back. If they are cleared, they go straight to the bus, and the cohort they are with becomes their family for the next few weeks.

I do the testing, but I am always juggling with my medical practice, so I don’t go with them to the residencies. Once they are at the residency, no one is allowed in or out. If, say, a physical therapist has to come in, they are tested first. Everyone is masked, and there are daily temperature and symptom tests by a Covid compliance officer, who can be someone in the company, trained by New York State. If they are there longer than 10 days, they have to do a mail-in saliva test. So far, we have had no positive results from tests.



CHRISTOPHER DUGGAN



WILL COTTON

Clockwise from left: Dr. Wendy Ziecheck helps dance companies rehearse and perform safely during the pandemic; among her many assignments, Dr. Ziecheck has offered advice for dancers who are preparing for the Fall for Dance festival; and Amanda Smith of Dance Theater of Harlem recently had her temperature checked in compliance with protocols established by Dr. Ziecheck.

Do you do a diagnostic of each company? Does company size matter?

Not really. It’s more about the context, and whether the protocol needs to be modified. Fall for Dance, for example, is more involved, because dancers aren’t living together, and they are coming in and out of the rehearsal studios. Everyone involved in any way has to get tested every four days in my office, which is luckily just a few blocks away. They have to be masked for everything except filming, even in rehearsals. And we have to adhere to the numbers of people per cubic foot mandated by New York State.

I always ask if a piece will have partnering in it, although to be honest it doesn’t really affect any decisions. If I harken back to the N.B.A., they are bumping into each other and spitting, and they have maintained a tremendous negativity level.

This must have been a fascinating departure for you, despite the difficult circumstances.

I am just glad that there are people who recognize how important it is to get artists working and creating again. It has been creative for me, too.

It’s funny to think that I have put Q-tips up the nostrils of my greatest dance heroes. What a job! What a world!

JESSE GREEN | THEATER REVIEW

A Feeble Resistance to Trump

Exploring the failures of liberalism in a podcast fantasy.

SHAKESPEARE, NO DUNCE, set his history plays among the long-gone and largely forgotten. “Richard II,” for instance, took its first bow two centuries after the actual Richard II took his last. That was long enough to outwit nit-pickers and squeeze poetry from a monster.

Anne Washburn gives herself no such breathing room in “Shipwreck: A History Play About 2017,” her thrillingly oracular but unfinished-feeling fantasy about the failures of liberalism in the deep recent past. You may faintly recall 2017 as the year in which a chaotic Richard-like ruler named Donald J. Trump came to power unexpectedly, at once deranging a country.

Or so the seven friends gathered in a converted upstate New York farmhouse see it. All in their 40s, all liberals or leftists (plus one self-proclaimed radical), they at first seem to agree that Trump has strayed so far beyond the bounds of political decency that he will soon be removed or forced to resign.

But cracks in the conversation and in the play’s theatrical shell almost immediately signal shakiness in that position. It begins with banter about the implications of the Public Theater’s Trump-baiting production of “Julius Caesar” that summer. (The Public, along with Woolly Mammoth Theater in Washington, has produced “Shipwreck” as a new on-demand audio play, available indefinitely and free.)

Soon, bigger differences emerge. Allie (Brooke Bloom) complains that no one has been responding to her unceasing slew of anti-Trump tweets with commensurate action. Being a lawyer, Andrew (Jeremy Shamos) points out that action is exactly what tweets aren’t. The promise of a home-made dinner and good wine helps paper over these fault lines. But if you’ve seen Washburn’s work before — including “The Internationalist,” “10 Out of 12” and especially “Mr. Burns, a Post-Electric Play” — you know that the intermittent suppression of conflict is a tensioning device that will pay off in big, odd ways.

In “Shipwreck,” she is not shy about providing road signs. There’s the title, of course, presumably referring to the ship of state. And when Jools (Sue Jean Kim) shows Mare (Mia Barron) around the farmhouse, it comes as little surprise to learn that its first rooms were built in 1776.

Follow Jesse Green on Twitter: @JesseKGreen.



VIA THE PUBLIC THEATER

Old friends grappling with the Trump era in the audio production of “Shipwreck” are voiced by (from left, starting with top row) Brooke Bloom, Mia Barron and Raúl Esparza; Richard Topol, Jeremy Shamos and Rob Campbell; and Sue Jean Kim.

Shipwreck: A History Play About 2017
On the Public Theater website and major podcast platforms; publictheater.org.

So when a vicious snowstorm kicks up, and the lights gutter, and Richard (Richard Topol) arrives having forgotten to buy any groceries, you sense that the comity among the liberal friends, no less than that of the liberal democracy they live in, is about to go south. Washburn’s affection for the farmhouse band already has; she’s merciless in mocking them as aestheticizers of disaster. “I think we look wonderful in candlelight,” Mare says when the electricity cuts out completely. “Are these beeswax?”

It’s through such cracks that Washburn’s insinuating way with terror sneaks in. For one thing, you realize that time has gone awry; why is there a snowstorm in what from all other signs, including the former F.B.I. director James Comey’s concurrent testimony before Congress, is June? Who is the farmer (Bruce McKenzie) interrupting the action from another year entirely to talk about adopting an African orphan? Why is Mare’s husband, Jim (Rob Campbell), muttering to himself about the birth of yet another person’s baby?

Things get even spookier when Andrew’s husband Luis (Raúl Esparza) jokes that he may have voted for Trump. Or is he joking? It’s as if a ghost entered the room.

Ghostliness is one aspect of “Shipwreck” that Saheem Ali’s production, which was revamped as a three-part podcast when the pandemic scuttled plans for a traditional staging, gets across beautifully. Deploying original music by the Bengsons and a riveting sound design by Palmer Hefferan, Ali — who also “freely adapted” the script — serves up a creepy, what-was-that back-drop of whispery echoes and choral fragments, like “Carmina Burana” played not just backward but inside out.

The fanfares help establish that “Shipwreck,” like its evident model “Angels in

America,” is going to keep introducing new levels of narrative, each one upping the theatrical ante. These eventually lead us to Trump himself, in scenes with Comey and President George W. Bush that leave the more naturalistic aspects of the play in the dust. Bush (Phillip James Brannon) is a corn-pone wheedler. Comey (Joe Morton) is a more formidable adversary, refusing to promise personal loyalty to the president over a dinner soon after the inauguration. But he is ultimately too compromised to mount a successful resistance to the Ayn Randian character that Washburn put in her imaginative White House of Horrors.

Trump, in Bill Camp’s performance, is an astonishing creation. Equal parts Beelzebub, Willy Wonka, Howard Roark and Oz, he brags and lies and masticates his way through the infamous dinner, here set in what sounds like a drippy cave next to the Oval Office. This is Trump as the liberals’ golem, a mutated Kissinger in whom morality has been eaten away to nothing by Randian Realpolitik Derangement syndrome.

As a character, this Trump puts the rest of “Shipwreck” to shame — which may be Washburn’s point but is a problem dramatically. Shakespeare at least gave his rulers equipotent antagonists. And in “Angels,” a play that Washburn’s Trump mentions indirectly for its “unfair treatment” of his mentor Roy Cohn, the intrusion of the otherworldly is eventually woven into the story’s human texture. It takes almost eight hours, but it happens.

At just two hours and 15 minutes, divided unequally among three episodes, “Shipwreck” can’t wheel itself around to that kind of convergence. Nor does it have enough time, even after Washburn cut several characters in the transition to audio, to explore satisfyingly all the ones that remain. Most tantalizingly, it leaves dangling Luis’s proposition that “art cannot save us” because it “isn’t a call to arms, it’s an elegy.” Washburn seems determined to prove him wrong.

Longer, “Shipwreck” might even have found time to give some credit to the caricatured liberals, who get none whatsoever; with their inanities and inaction, they are even worse counterweights to Trump than Bush or Comey were.

Fair enough — there are very few plays willing to do the work of liberal self-criticism, let alone so imaginatively. But to the extent the Trump agenda stalled in real life, was it not a result of resistance and blowback from progressives using social media as a megaphone? They were not all admiring the beeswax. Perhaps, given enough time, “Shipwreck” will see that.

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He Isn't Here To Cheer You Up

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
Downey Jr., before the pandemic, and believed the season — if not the series — was finished.

Instead, he was able to produce two more episodes over the summer, under substantially different circumstances: one with Dave Chappelle, which was recorded at an outdoor pavilion in Yellow Springs, Ohio; and one with Lizzo, at her home studio in Los Angeles, which had no audience at all.

For Letterman, each of these episodes offered him a further education in the evolution of entertainment and deeper insights as an interviewer and observer of human nature. Even so, he found himself yearning for what he called “the carefree days of nonsense” when he could “bring people into a theater and talk to them for an hour, and when we were done I would go out into the crowd and shake hands, and everybody would want to tongue-kiss me.”

“We don’t do that anymore,” he added. Letterman spoke further about his pandemic experience, the making of his Netflix series and what he hopes the future might hold for him. These are edited excerpts from that conversation.

How has the pandemic been for you? What is it like for you now?

Like everybody else, you forget about it. Six, eight months into it, you go on talking as though things are normal, and then it’s, oh, no, we can’t do that because of the pandemic. In the beginning, it was more than ghastly. The husband of a woman that worked at [“Late Show”], he died. A teacher at Harry’s school died. Paul Shaffer and his wife both had it. Cathy, his wife, was hospitalized. Barbara Gaines, who was a producer on the show, she and her wife both had it. And on and on and on.

How do you feel when you come into contact with people elsewhere in the country who don’t seem to be taking the pandemic as seriously?

That makes me very sad. Because we learned a lesson that these other people are dismissing. I was talking to a friend of mine, and he was furious at the mayor of his city for keeping it closed, and he said, “Well, that guy will never be re-elected.” And I just thought, do I tell him what this really can be? We’re looking at a quarter of a million people dead soon. But I just didn’t want to have that fight.

After the 9/11 attacks, you gave several “Late Show” monologues where you tried to rally your viewers’ spirits and bring them together. Do you ever feel like saying anything similar now?

Something applicable to these times? I wish I had the wherewithal to say something meaningful. But all of these people who are resisting the idea of prevention, I just keep thinking: What about the families of the 220,000 people who are dead? I wonder how they’re feeling. I don’t get it. I have no solution other than to do what is told: Take care of yourself and your family.

How did the pandemic affect your work on your Netflix series?

I thought we were done for good. Really. In the beginning, it really seemed like, holy God, they’re coming over the wall, we’re all going to die. People keep reminding me that, at my age, I’m particularly vulnerable. Which I don’t appreciate at all. “Dad, you know you’re close to 100, you’d better not go out.”

How did you decide to continue with your season?

We had two more episodes [with Lizzo and Dave Chappelle] in preproduction, and we were eager to do something. We did them within a very short period of time, and then we came home. By that point, there were protocols in place from the production company and from Netflix that we had to observe, gladly, and we got through it OK.

Kim Kardashian West, who is now a prized guest on your Netflix series, was a frequent target of mockery in your “Late Show” days. Oh, I was at the head of that list. I can remember when she would be booked on the show, it was like, I don’t know anything about her, and I’ve never seen her show. And then when we went to talk to Kanye, I thought, oh, I’ve misjudged this woman.

What changed your mind about her?

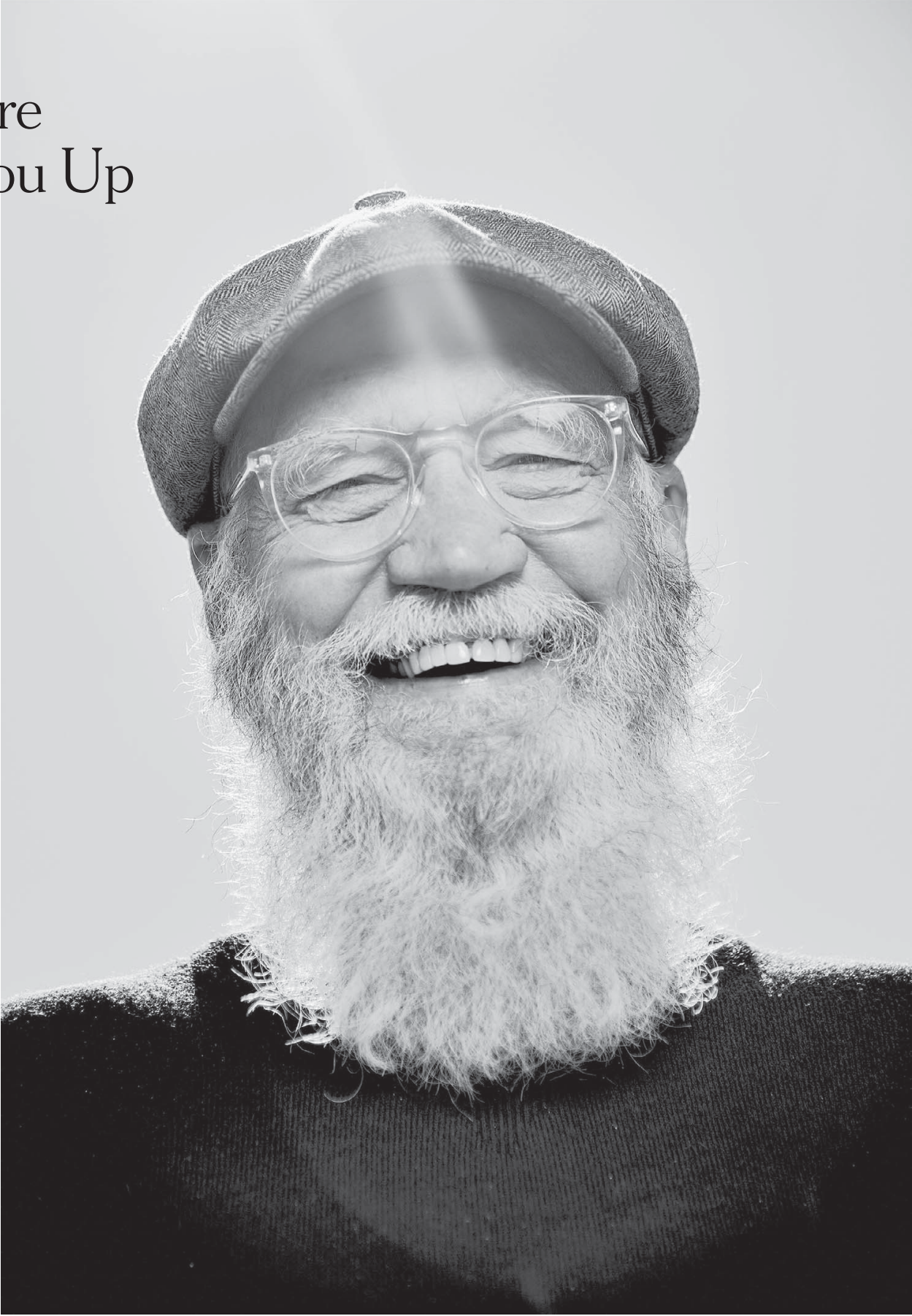
After we met with Kanye West [for the previous season of the Netflix series], I had a long talk with her at their home, and I started to think about how I had used her as a joke and regarded her as someone not to be taken seriously. I found that that impression was not the end of the story. She had a family. She has her prison reform program. I won’t comment on the ease of being married to Kanye West. And if she can keep a show like that on the air for all those years, that’s an accomplishment. If you can stay in business on television that long, good for you.

You went to Yellow Springs, Ohio, to interview Dave Chappelle. Did you perform at his outdoor comedy show there?

Yes. I think I did it. [To his publicist] Did I do it? [Publicist answers: “You did it.”] I’m being told I did it [laughs]. It was grand. The setting is unique. It’s outdoors. Everybody’s tested, everybody social distanced. He had three or four comics on and each comic made my heart sink deeper. Because when I was doing comedy, a lot of it was [weakly] “Hey, where you from?” But these men and women, whoa — the level of it, the intellect of it, the presentation of it is so much more than it was when me and my little buddies were, “Hey, how ya doin’ I just got in from Indiana.” Really? No one cares. Get outta here.

Did you come up with a new standup set or use your past material?

Past material [laughs]. Yeah, I keep past



VICTOR LLORENTE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

David Letterman shot two episodes this summer, with Covid testing and other protocols, including one at Lizzo’s home in Los Angeles, below.

‘But all of these people who are resisting the idea of prevention, I just keep thinking: What about the families of the 220,000 people who are dead? I wonder how they’re feeling. I don’t get it.’

DAVID LETTERMAN



VIA DAVID LETTERMAN

material in the treasure chest. Because it’s so valuable that I don’t want others to hurt themselves with it. No, it was all of the moment. I could have said, “Excuse me, I’ve got to tie my shoe” [imitates crowd laughter]. Because once Dave puts his stamp of approval on somebody, it’s not as hard as you think it’s going to be. At first, I thought, oh, God, this is not going to work. And then when it was finished, I thought, wow, this is the most fun I’ll have all summer.

You had previously had Lizzo as a guest on your “Late Show” in 2014 before her career really took off. Is that why you went back to her now?

[Deeply sarcastic] Chronologically, you can make the case that I’m the reason for her success. And I think we — I think I, screw everybody else — I put her on the map. And I stand by that.

Because of the pandemic, this episode has no audience — it’s just the two of you talking in her home studio. Did it make you rethink how you might approach the series

going forward?

It felt far more relaxed, and I think that’s all her. She was so lovely and gracious and pleasant, and what really tipped me over was her ability with the flute. I was always the one that thought we had to have an audience, because that’s how you built the show — your timing was generated by the audience. But going forward, the requirement of an audience is not essential. I would be eager to see if it works with more than Lizzo.

Do you ever have moments in these interviews where you feel as if you don’t have a shared frame of reference to talk to some of these guests?

Yes. Because the experience is barely parallel. We’re all in show business, but that’s as close a comparison as you can make, culturally. I did feel like, is this going to look stupid? An old guy here, trying to talk to people who are thriving and alive and dominating the world through social media? I felt like it was a wreck. That’s the inner dialogue.

How do you get past this?

Like anybody else that you talk to, every human being, there are situations that helped develop into what they are. So you’re going to get a story out of anybody. It may not happen in the first five minutes, but in every one of these experiences, there’s always a conduit for mutual experience. “Oh yeah? You think that’s something? Well, one time I choked on a peanut-butter sandwich and nearly died.” You have to make everybody a good interview.

Do you think that late-night television, a genre that you helped to pioneer, has been diminished in recent years — that so much of it has become political comedy that doesn’t really move the needle and crowds out everything else?

I know that people have been hugely successful with it. Stephen [Colbert] has done a great job with my old show — his show now. In my day, the goal was just anything to make the audience laugh. That may be part of the dynamic now. People have this hunger to see the current administration being assailed and embarrassing itself. So I think that’s what [late-night shows] worked toward. I don’t fault them for that. After a while, it wears thin, but the appetite for it has not worn thin. I think they still do enough business to keep people happy.

Do you ever find yourself fearing for the future of this country?

I really did, until recently. And now I am confident — or more confident than I’ve been in the last four years — that we’re changing presidents in a couple of weeks. And it will be a huge victory. Not just for our culture and our government, but the simple act of voting will have been the reason that the rest of our country is put back together and, in many ways, saved from what appears to be tyranny, certainly jeopardy. I think it will be a huge victory on many fronts, not the least of which is calling attention to the valuable freedom of voting.

Please don’t mistake this for a suggestion, but do you ever think about packing it in as a broadcaster entirely?

First of all, you can’t hurt my feelings because I’m dead inside. But the Netflix people put me back in business in a way that has been, for me, really, really fun. On the other hand, I recognize my own shelf life. I’m way overdue. When it happens, I still will enjoy little things here and there, and that’ll be enough. But there’s other people more capable. I got no problem with that. If there is any kind of schedule, it would be when my son is finished with high school. But if it’s tomorrow, that’s fine.

Your son, Harry, is 16 now. Are you worried about how the pandemic is going to affect his life?

I think it’s every parent’s concern, regardless of the age of their kids. But for Harry and his buddies, the junior year of high school is a crucial experience. Now they’re starting to look beyond high school, and it’s not good. For guys Harry’s age and older, it might be a setback. Time takes care of everything, and one hopes that that’s the case here.

How do you talk about these feelings with him?

I had a conversation with my son the other night that went this way. Because of the pandemic and the fact that he’s getting older, I said, Harry, your mother and I have two responsibilities. One is to keep you safe. And other than the time that your mother let you roll off the bed and land on your head, we have kept you safe. The other responsibility is your happiness. And he said, “Have you been drinking?” So that’s how that works at my house.

Rapper’s Vulnerability Shaped New Album

Open Mike Eagle’s therapist said, ‘Write your feelings,’ and that advice became a guide.

By DAVID PEISNER

Open Mike Eagle has a wildly creative imagination, but even he was stunned by his circumstances last month at the Aut-O-Rama Twin Drive-In in North Ridgeville, Ohio. On his left side, cars and trucks rumbled by on Interstate 80. On his right, noisy trains roared over railroad tracks every 30 minutes. Eagle was on a stage between them, performing his emotionally candid brand of DIY art-rap, as the opening act for his friend the comedian Hannibal Buress.

“My memory of it is looking out into a dark abyss of car shapes,” he said on the phone, a week later. At another drive-in gig, cars honked their appreciation, and while he enjoyed the feedback, “that’s not the sound your brain associates with approval,” he added. “It sounds like you’re on your phone at the intersection too long and people are angry at you.”

Throughout a week of shows, Eagle performed only one song from his new album, “Anime, Trauma and Divorce,” released on Friday: the woozy first single, “Bucciarati,” a startlingly raw accounting of his experiences with the three subjects in the album’s title. “That’s a very vulnerable song in an environment that doesn’t give you the energy back to make something vulnerable more comfortable to do,” he said.

Eagle, 39, has always been an odd bird in the hip-hop cinematic universe — willing to mix his personal insecurities and philosophical inclinations into songs alongside references to Steven Wright, ThunderCats and the Koch Brothers — but the new album is a poignant, heart-rending confessional of another order altogether.



ERIK CARTER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“I’ve listened to a lot of rap and heard deeply vulnerable songs but I ain’t never heard nothing like this,” he said on a Skype call the week before the drive-in tour. He was in his home in Los Angeles, wearing a purple shirt with a caricature of the wrestling icon Ric Flair on it, and a pair of dark-framed eyeglasses. “It’s terrifying because I don’t know if people necessarily want something like this. Rap is such an escape.”

Eagle is from the South Side of Chicago, where he was raised mostly by his grandparents, surrounded by a crack epidemic that was ravaging the neighborhood. “I was a latchkey kid, so I was home all the time,” he said. “All I watched was cartoons, comedy and music videos.” His musical sensibilities began forming around two distinct poles. “On one side was N.W.A. On the other was They Might Be Giants. That’s the two halves of my brain.”

He met Buress at Southern Illinois University, where he was Buress’s resident adviser in a dorm. “Back then, he was known more for battle rapping, being the best free-styler on campus,” Buress said in a phone interview. “We battle-rapped onstage back then. I would’ve been considered a heavy underdog, but I used him being an R.A. against him. I said some bars like, ‘Yo, are

you going to give me a noise violation?’ That day, the underdog won. But he’s always been a funny, insightful dude.”

After college, Eagle worked as a school teacher, first in Chicago and then in Los Angeles, where he attended open mic nights at Project Blowed, an underground hip-hop workshop in Leimert Park, the artistically fertile neighborhood where he now lives. He connected with like-minded indie rappers including Busdriver, Nocando and Aceyalone, but didn’t begin releasing his own music until he was in his late 20s.

His albums have showcased an agile mind with a gift for punch lines, tight, sing-songy rhymes and a seemingly bottomless catalog of cultural references. Eagle’s 2017 release, “Brick Body Kids Still Daydream,” a melodic fever dream of a concept album about the destruction of a Chicago housing project, was lauded as one of that year’s best records by Rolling Stone, NPR and Pitchfork.

In 2019, “The New Negroes,” a variety show he hosted with the comedian Baron Vaughn, premiered on Comedy Central. It mixed performances from Black stand-ups with musical collaborations between Eagle and artists including Lizzo, Method Man and MF Doom, and sported a definitive mis-

Last year, Open Mike Eagle’s Comedy Central show was canceled, an anticipated musical collaboration crumbled and he and his wife divorced. The rapper poured his emotions into his music.

‘It’s terrifying because I don’t know if people necessarily want something like this. Rap is such an escape.’

“Write your feelings.” It became the album’s guiding philosophy. “I’d never really done that with my music, not in a directly confrontational way.”

The “Trauma” of the album’s title refers to something from Eagle’s childhood he’s not yet comfortable naming publicly but is the root of much of the recent turmoil in his life. “A lot of my therapy has been trying to process the original trauma to avoid making decisions based on not having a balanced sense of self to begin with.” Anime, specifically a long-running Japanese series called “JoJo’s Bizarre Adventure,” still plays an important part in the album’s creative tapestry.

Despite the heavyweight subject matter, Eagle has a light touch when he needs to. The ethereal-sounding “WTF Is Self-Care” is both a pointed skewering of the subculture of kelp smoothies and high-thread count bedsheets often prescribed as emotional comfort items, as well as earnest acknowledgment that he needs that comfort. The eerie “Black Mirror Episode” is a hysterical rant about how a particularly disturbing installment of the Netflix series ruined his marriage.

“It wasn’t like we called it quits that night,” he said, “but we were watching an episode with this couple in it, and I don’t think we were able to come back from that.”

For the album’s slippery, woozy and occasionally frantic beats, Eagle hit up several established underground rap producers, including Caleb Stone and Gold Panda, but turned to a relative outsider, Jackknife Lee, an Irish producer known for his work with rock bands like U2, the Killers and Weezer, to be the executive producer for the whole project.

“I’ve been a fan for a long time,” Lee said. “Modern hip-hop can be a little macho, but his isn’t. It’s almost bragging about honesty as opposed to some fantasy. He has an ability to be truthful, and do it with humor.”

“Anime, Trauma and Divorce” was recorded before the pandemic shut down the United States in March, but everything that’s happened since — not just Covid-19, but worldwide Black Lives Matter protests and a presidential campaign that has magnified alarming fissures in the country — has made releasing it weeks before an election that feels like a referendum on all these things incredibly uncomfortable. “An album this personal is difficult to talk about in general, but there’s this other layer of — what am I doing talking about my personal problems when there’s hundreds of thousands of people dying, everybody’s out of work and people can’t go outside?” he said.

Even as he has been praised for his honesty, Eagle admitted he has felt guilty of holding back the whole truth before now. “I feel like I’ve been curating my own existence,” he said. “Every album, there have been three or four songs I’ve ended up pulling because they were too personal. The dark stuff is always hidden out of view.”

In a way, he said, focusing on social justice issues is just “another way to avoid talking about myself.”

“This particular moment, the challenge was to not do that,” he added.

ROBERTA SMITH | ART REVIEW

The Perils of Parenting While Black



TITUS KAPHAR VIA GAGOSIAN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

other artists in similar situations — Mark Bradford, Kehinde Wiley and Theaster Gates — Mr. Kaphar has made a determined effort to give back. In 2018, he founded, with the entrepreneur Jason Price and the sculptor Jonathan Brand, a New-Haven nonprofit incubator called NXTHVN to train emerging artists and curators of color.

Mr. Kaphar’s aesthetic efforts walk along an unusually fine line between art and activism. Among his best-known works (not in this show) is “Behind the Myth of Benevolence” (2014), in which a careful, flipped replica of Gilbert’s Stuart’s portrait of Thomas Jefferson has been partly removed from its stretcher and hangs to one side, like a drawn-back curtain. Behind this, solidly attached to the stretcher, is a second canvas and another layer of the great man’s personal history: an intimate portrayal of a beautiful young Black woman. Her image refers to Sally Hemings, an enslaved wom-

Works from Titus Kaphar in a new Gagosian show include, from left, “Twins,” “Not My Burden,” “Analogous Colors” and “From a Tropical Space.”

From a Tropical Space
Through Dec. 19 at Gagosian, 522 West 21st Street, Manhattan; 212 741 1717, gagosian.com. Appointment suggested.



VIA GAGOSIAN

an of mixed race who belonged to Jefferson, and whose six children were in all likelihood fathered by him.

Mr. Kaphar’s “Jerome Project” — an ongoing series — consists of small portraits of incarcerated Black men (based on their mug shots), painted on gold leaf, like icons and then dipped in thick tar, up to their chins or lips or even their foreheads. The works stand as visceral symbols of oppression and obliteration.

The paintings in “From a Tropical Space” at Gagosian’s West 21st Street gallery are as starkly forceful as ever. But they venture much closer to quotidian life, as if to update us on the crushing anxiety that has always been part of parenting while Black in America. The artist starts by making paintings of appropriate photographs of mothers with their children, usually in scenes of domestic calm. Then he simply cuts out the images of the children, leaving the mothers holding empty silhouettes through which the walls they hang on are disconcertingly visible.

The contrast of the painted canvas and the sudden gaps has a definite jolt that intensifies as you recognize what has been lost. With their amped up palette of dark pastels and everyday settings, they succeed as paintings to a greater degree than before. And they don’t let us off the hook by dwelling on the past.

The series’ (and exhibition’s) title con-

tures sub-Saharan Africa, from which the ancestors of many American Blacks were torn. One work — “Analogous Colors” — appeared on the cover of Time magazine’s June 15 issue, which reported on the killing of George Floyd. (After all, there is no time limit on losing a child.) The expression on the mother’s face here is an unusually complex mixture of tenderness and worry. Several of them look out at us with some degree of wariness, as in one titled “The distance between what we have and what we want.”

The alluring deep pinks, lavenders and blues have a tropical mien, as do occasional, palm trees and the lush foliate patterns that regularly appear as wall paper, drapes and backslashes or, in “Aftermath,” on the roof of a house upended by some kind of natural disaster, possibly a tornado. The painting titled “From a Tropical Space” evokes the vibrant hues of a well-known variant of the Pan-African flag in its green grass, red curb and the yellow plastic bags of two mothers, chatting in the street, with strollers that once held their toddlers.

But there is a foreboding, slightly overcast quality to these scenes and carefully placed details add to it and sometimes create a modern iconography. Among these details: a blue rubber glove redolent of coronavirus precautions worn by the mother in “Analogous Colors.” A garden hose looks innocuous in the chaotic garage of “After-

math,” but it also snakes into other paintings, like the family room in “Twins,” the next painting on the gallery’s wall. In this scene, it hints at the Garden of Eden, but more strongly evokes the fire hoses directed at protesters during civil rights era, while the vintage television set (with an African sculpture on it) indicates how such violence became known nationwide at the time. That things may not turn out well is signaled by a dead potted plant sitting on a small shelf.

In “Not My Burden,” two mothers hold their babies, while displayed on the wall behind them is an old sepia photograph of a large white family and their Black servant, who stands at the edge of the frame. (The scene was the basis of an earlier painting by Mr. Kaphar.) Her expression is grim; perhaps she is thinking about the needs of her own children at home.

Despite the comfy interiors and appealing colors, these are haunted paintings. They depict a condition known to African-Americans ever since they began arriving on these shores, when a mother’s primary fear was of her children being sold away from her.

And they hint at loss and desolation that may yet come, but whose possibility is oppressive. Even if they never arrive, they will still have extracted too great a cost.

4 BOTANY

Five stories of plants that have vanished from the wild in North America.



6 WELL

Hugs are good for humans. But how and when should we embrace?

8 CORONAVIRUS IN DEPTH

Some Covid-19 survivors with major lung damage show signs of healing.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BLUE ORIGIN

The Orbital Niche

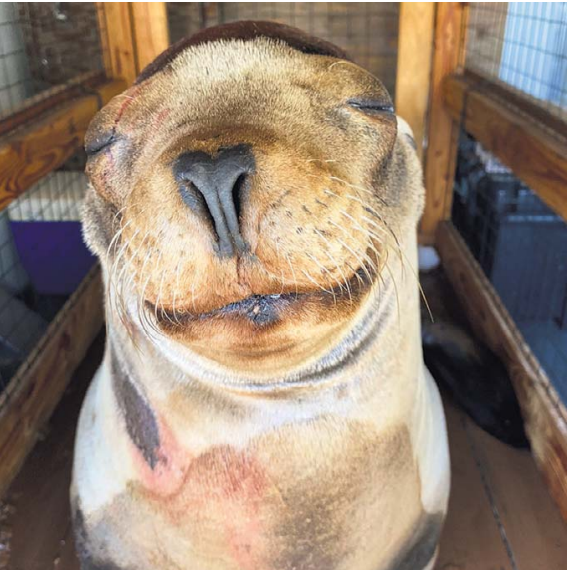
By KENNETH CHANG

West Texas is not quite like the moon. But it can serve as a handy stand-in. ¶ Last week, Blue Origin, the rocket company started by Jeff Bezos, the chief executive of Amazon, launched — and landed — its small New Shepard rocket and capsule for the 13th time as part of tests to verify safety before any passengers climb aboard. ¶ One day, this will be New Shepard’s main business: flying well-to-do

people above the 62-mile altitude generally considered the beginning of outer space, where they will experience a few minutes of weightlessness as the capsule arcs. ¶ Blue Origin is not a new company — Mr. Bezos founded it in 2000 — but for most of its existence, it operated in secret without generating much revenue. Three years ago, Mr. Bezos said he was selling \$1 billion a year in

CONTINUED ON PAGE D5

Above, Blue Origin’s New Shepard rocket lifted off and later landed safely in West Texas last week. The company’s goal is to eventually transport tourists.



Cronutt, a sea lion, had brain surgery this month aimed at reversing his epilepsy.

A Sea Lion’s Last Chance

Scientists hope brain surgery can save marine mammals harmed by climate change.

By MATT RICHTEL

VALLEJO, CALIF. — The adolescent patient turned sullen and withdrawn. He hadn’t eaten in 13 days. Treatment with steroids, phenobarbital and Valium failed to curb the symptoms of his epilepsy. Then, on Sept. 18, he had a terrible seizure — violently jerking his flippers and turning unconscious in the water. The patient, Cronutt, a 7-year-old sea lion, had to be rescued so he didn’t drown. His veterinarian and the caretakers at Six Flags Discovery Kingdom began discussing whether it was time for palliative care. “We’d tried everything,” said Dr. Claire Simeone, Cronutt’s longtime vet. “We needed more extreme measures.” Early this month, Cronutt underwent groundbreaking brain surgery aimed at reversing the epilepsy. If his recovery is successful, the treat-

ment could be used to save increasing numbers of sea lions and sea otters from succumbing to a new plague of epilepsy. The cause is climate change. As oceans warm, algae blooms have become more widespread, creating toxins that get ingested by sardines and anchovies, which in turn get ingested by sea lions, causing damage to the brain that results in epilepsy. Sea otters also face risk when they consume toxin-laden shellfish. The animals who get stranded on land have been given supportive care but many die. Cronutt may change that. “If this works, it’s going to be big,” said Mariana Casalia, a neuroscientist at the University of California, San Francisco, who helped pioneer the techniques that led to a procedure that took place at a veterinarian surgery center in Redwood City, Calif. That procedure was done by three neurosurgeons at U.C.S.F., who ordinarily operate on humans. During the operation, they bored a small hole in Cronutt’s skull, inserted an ultrathin needle into the hippocampus of the sea lion’s brain, then im-

planted embryonic brain cells extracted from a 35-day-old pig. These so-called inhibitory cells tamp down the electrical activity in the brain that leads to seizures, a process identified by Scott Baraban, a professor of neurosurgery who runs the lab where Dr. Casalia works. Over a decade, their technique has proved effective in curing epilepsy in mice. Cronutt, the first higher mammal to get the treatment, emerged from the surgery and anesthesia at midday and was breathing on his own, a first step. Whether the surgery successfully reverses his condition won’t be known for several weeks. Pig cells are important because they have properties of higher mammal species, including the sea mammals succumbing to epilepsy. And sea lions and sea otters are increasingly at risk for the disease. The widely documented phenomenon, first discovered in 1998, led to a surge in beachings of sea lions in 2002, another in 2015, and annual summer beachings. By now, thousands of sea lions have been poisoned by the toxin, called domoic acid. It de-

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ANDREW WALMSLEY

CAUTION: NOT CUDDLY

You Want a Piece of Me? Why Slow Lorises Are So Quick to Anger

With their bright saucer eyes, button noses and plump, fuzzy bodies, slow lorises — a group of small, nocturnal Asian primates — resemble adorable, living stuffed animals. But their innocuous looks belie a startling aggression: They pack vicious bites loaded with flesh-rotting venom. Even more surprising, a new study reveals that the most frequent recipients of their toxic bites are other slow lorises.

“If the killer bunnies on Monty Python were a real animal, they would be slow lorises — but they would be attacking each other,” said Anna Nekaris, a primate conservationist at Oxford Brookes University

and lead author of the study.

Scientists know of just five other types of venomous mammals: vampire bats, two species of shrew, platypuses and solenodons (an insectivorous mammal found in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti).

Researchers are just beginning to untangle the many mysteries of slow loris venom. One key component resembles the protein found in cat dander that triggers allergies in humans. But other unidentified compounds seem to lend additional toxicity and cause extreme pain. *RACHEL NUWER*



SUSAN ALBERTS/DUKE UNIVERSITY

PLATONIC BABOONS

The Value of Friends, With Benefits or Not

New research is showing that male baboons live longer if they have more female friends.

The findings came from one of the world’s longest-running studies of wild primates. Researchers have been observing savanna baboons in Kenya’s Amboseli basin since 1971. One activity, grooming, is the basis for baboons’ social relationships.

Although males and females may groom each other, there isn’t much male-male grooming or bonding. But pairs of female baboons form lifelong bonds, and earlier research has shown that female baboons with strong relationships live longer than isolated females.

The new research shows that, just as with female baboons, males with more social bonds — those platonic grooming relationships with females — lived longer. *ELIZABETH PRESTON*

‘People like animals and they sometimes think they’re doing a good thing by letting them go. Most will die. Some will become a problem, and then there’s no going back.’

Jason Munshi-South, urban ecologist at Fordham University, after a man was observed releasing eels in Prospect Park Lake in Brooklyn.

A GLOWING GENE

How to Make A Venus Flytrap Snap

If you brush just one of the trigger hairs inside of a Venus flytrap’s leaves, the plant probably won’t react. But if you trigger it again quickly enough, it will swing its mouth shut.

Waiting for a double trip may keep the plant from wasting

energy on raindrops or other things that aren’t flies. But no one has been certain how the plants remember the first trigger in order to act on a second.

But now we may know the cause: calcium ions. By inducing flytraps to glow when calcium entered their cells, scientists showed how the ions build up as the hairs are triggered, eventually causing the snap. *CARA GIAIMO*



OLI SCARFF/GETTY IMAGES



DEAN LEWINS/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

PETRIFIED PENGUINS

These Mummies Had Been Kept on Ice

In 2016, when the ornithologist Steven Emslie arranged for a flight to a cape along the Scott Coast of Antarctica, he didn’t expect to find much, though he had heard rumors of penguin guano being found there.

Dr. Emslie, who had been studying penguin colonies living near an Italian base in Antarctica, knew that explorers going back a

century had not written about any penguins at the site. But he found not only the guano, but penguin corpses, with feathers still intact and flesh having barely decayed. (Above is a non-mummified penguin.)

Carbon-dating analysis showed that the penguins had died from 800 to 5,000 years ago.

It seemed that the penguins were in fact recently defrosted mummies that had been swallowed up by advancing snow fields long ago. *MATT KAPLAN*

THE SCENT OF A MUTATION

A Trait That Makes The Stinkiest Fish Smell Just Fine

Researchers in Iceland have identified a new mutant super-power — but the genetic trait probably won’t be granting anyone admission to the X-Men.

A small contingent of the world’s population carries a mutation that makes them immune to



SUZIE HOWELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

the odious funk that wafts off fish, according to a study of some 11,000 people published in the journal *Current Biology*. The trait is rare, but potent: When faced with a synthetic odor that would put many people off their lunch, some test subjects smelled only the pleasant aroma of caramel,

potato or rose.

A vast majority of people aren’t so lucky. Nearly 98 percent of Icelanders, the research said, are probably as put off by the scent as you’d expect. The mutation is thought to be even rarer in populations in other countries.

KATHERINE J. WU

ONLINE: TRILOBITES

🐞 Daily nuggets of science for mobile readers: nytimes.com/trilobites

Having Dementia Doesn’t Mean You Can’t Vote

Cognitively impaired people can participate in the election, even if they need some help.

EDWARD KOZLOWSKI OFTEN told his daughter how his father had walked across Siberia to come to America.

Born in Chicago 99 years ago, Mr. Kozlowski grew up on Midwestern farms. He left West Point during World War II to enlist in the Army Air Corps and made four flights over Europe on D-Day. A mechanical engineer, he spent much of his career at NASA and at Texas A&M.

And throughout his adult life, Mr. Kozlowski, a registered Republican, voted in virtually every election. “In my family, voting was the highest honor of citizenship,” his daughter, Judith Kozlowski, said. “You owed it to your country to vote; that was always the message.”

It remains important to Mr. Kozlowski, now a resident of an independent living facility in Chevy Chase, Md. He didn’t want to vote in person this year, wary of exposure to the coronavirus, so his daughter helped him request a mail-in ballot — even though he has developed dementia.

“Some days he’s right on the mark, sometimes he’s not,” said Ms. Kozlowski, 68. Her father can grow disoriented; prone to wandering, he requires round-the-clock caregivers. Yet he watches “The PBS News-Hour” and CNN “religiously,” his daughter said, and tuned in for the presidential and vice-presidential debates.

He has macular degeneration, so Ms. Kozlowski read him the ballot during short, kitchen-table sessions over several days. It probably helped that as a former federal prosecutor and elder justice consultant, she knew the rules better than most.

Her father could tell her which candidates he wanted to vote for.

And that is all it takes.

“There are many misperceptions of what ‘capacity to vote’ is,” said Charles Sabatino, director of the American Bar Association Commission on Law and Aging. “Incapacity to follow a recipe and cook dinner doesn’t mean incapacity to vote. The inability to remember your grandchildren’s names doesn’t mean you can’t vote.”

What is required — as the commission and the Penn Memory Center point out in a new guide — is the ability to express a preference.

“Can you pick among the choices?” said Dr. Jason Karlawish, a geriatrician and co-



CHRISTINA PERRY

Edward Kozlowski of Chevy Chase, Md., who has voted in every election in his adult life, was helped with his ballot by his daughter, Judith Kozlowski.

‘Can you pick among the choices? That’s it.’

DR. JASON KARLAWISH
PENN MEMORY CENTER

director of the Penn Memory Center. “That’s it.”

The Census Bureau has reported that more than 23 million American adults — close to 10 percent — have conditions limiting mental functioning, including learning and intellectual disabilities and Alzheimer’s disease or other forms of dementia.

Some are young or middle-aged, but most of the nearly eight million people with dementia are older adults. Many will be effectively disenfranchised.

Voting can become challenging for many older citizens, who may struggle to reach polling places, stand in lines, use computerized voting machines or read ballots printed in small type.

But misunderstandings about cognitive decline present still more obstacles. Workers in nursing homes and assisted living facilities, as well as family members, may refuse to assist impaired voters because they believe that dementia disqualifies them.

It doesn’t. A diagnosis of cognitive impairment does not bar someone from voting. Voters need pass no cognitive tests. They don’t have to be able to name the candidates or explain the issues. If they need

help reading or physically marking the ballot, they can be assisted, either at the polls or with mail-in ballots. In some states, even people under court-appointed guardianship don’t lose their voting rights.

In any case, the proportion of people who have guardians is low. If you are considering helping someone with dementia to participate in an election, and they have registered to vote, in most cases there are only two real guidelines to keep in mind.

One: After reminding the person that Election Day is nearing, ask whether he or she would like to vote. A “no” stops the process, Mr. Sabatino said, but “anyone who expresses an interest in voting should be assisted, within the limits of the law.”

Two: You may read the voter the ballot choices, if he or she cannot read them, but cannot provide additional information or interpretation, although discussions before voting begins are permitted. “Ask them their choices and see if they answer,” Mr. Sabatino said. “If they do, they vote.”

Voters need not complete the ballot; they can vote for president and ignore everything else. There is no time limit; a relative or paid caregiver can help the voter complete a mail-in ballot over several days. Write-ins are permitted. “If they tell you they want to vote for F.D.R., you write in F.D.R.,” Mr. Sabatino said.

“You may find it disturbing to write in someone odd, but we let people do that,” Dr. Karlawish said. Voters with normal cognition may write in the name of Mickey Mouse, select the first person on the ballot, whoever that might be, and otherwise behave less than rationally. “We can’t hold certain people to standards that we don’t hold everyone else to, when it’s a matter of a fundamental right,” Dr. Karlawish said.

With the ongoing health crisis, however, “it’s going to be harder to participate for a lot of people this year,” said Myrna Pérez of the Brennan Center for Justice.

For residents of nursing homes and assisted living facilities, for example, visiting restrictions will make it hard for relatives to help with ballots.

Elaine and Charlie Fettig, married for 58 years, have seen each other in person just twice since June, when Mr. Fettig, 82, moved into a nursing home in suburban Philadelphia. He developed dementia after a stroke two years ago.

“We always voted,” Ms. Fettig, 81, said. Permitted a distanced visit earlier this month, she filled out an application for a mail-in ballot; a staff member helped her

husband make the legally required mark.

Now, Ms. Fettig wonders whether she will be able to visit again in time to help him vote. “If I could go every day, I wouldn’t have to worry about who’s going to help him make an X,” she said.

Earlier this month, a Medicare memorandum warned that nursing homes must ensure that residents can vote and provide assistance when needed.

Well before the pandemic, however, such facilities were chronically understaffed. Family caregivers may have to drop off ballots and pester administrators to help residents complete and return them. (Ms. Pérez advises consulting at least two trusted sources on state laws governing who may assist with and return a ballot.)

Most older people with dementia live at home, however, where wider use of mailed ballots might actually make voting easier. Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia are sending ballots or ballot applications to most or all active registered voters this year, the Brennan Center has said.

Could unscrupulous caregivers take advantage of impaired older voters by overriding their choices or discarding their ballots? It’s possible, but also illegal. “Anyone who sees undue influence or coercion should report it” to local election boards, Mr. Sabatino said.

A country committed to ensuring that all eligible citizens can vote could make this process simpler. During the 2008 election, for instance, Vermont experimented with mobile polling that sent trained election officials to selected nursing homes.

“Everyone said how much residents felt their dignity and sense of worth was enhanced,” Dr. Karlawish said; he was part of a research team following the effort.

But although some jurisdictions emphasize outreach to older voters, mobile polling remains rare, probably because election boards are underfunded.

So, as often happens, the responsibility largely falls to families. On Oct. 8, after considerable discussion, Judith Kozlowski helped her father make his selections. He allowed her to disclose that, after a lifetime of voting Republican, this time he had voted for Joseph R. Biden Jr., the Democratic nominee for president.

She drove him to the drop box outside a local community center, where other voters and family members were also returning ballots. They spontaneously applauded as Mr. Kozlowski, using a walker, approached and slid his ballot through the slot.

Wool Blankets of Old From Man’s Best Friend

Indigenous peoples in the Pacific Northwest bred small dogs and sheared their fur.

By LESLEY EVANS OGDEN

Eight years ago, Tessa Campbell heard a genuine shaggy dog story.

In 2012, Wayne W. Williams, an elder of the Tulalip Tribes, was donating material to the Hibulb Cultural Center on the tribal reservation in Washington State. He told Ms. Campbell, the museum’s senior curator, that his donation included a dog wool blanket.

Weavers examining it were unconvinced, suspecting it was mountain goat wool. But examination under an electron microscope at the University of Victoria in British Columbia in 2019 confirmed what Mr. Williams, who died in 2017, had said: The blanket, dated to about 1850, contained dog wool, lending credence to stories from the oral tradition of the Coast Salish Indigenous peoples of a special dog that was long kept and bred for its fleece.

A study published last month in The Journal of Anthropological Archaeology adds to the evidence for the industry that produced this dog wool, as well as its ancient roots. The analysis by Iain McKechnie, a zooarchaeologist with the Hakai Institute, and two co-authors examined data collected over 55 years from over 16,000 specimens of the dog family across the Pacific Northwest. It suggests the vast majority of canid bones from 210 Pacific Coast archaeological sites, from Oregon to Alaska, were not from wild wolves, coyotes or foxes. Instead, they were domestic dogs, including small woolly ones that were kept for their fur.

While the Indigenous cultures of the Pacific Northwest are often associated with their traditional harvesting of salmon, whales, herring and clams, their animal husbandry on land is less well known. The study highlights their underappreciated breeding of animals — particularly dogs — for wool.

One of Dr. McKechnie’s co-authors, Susan Crockford, has studied dog bones in archaeology sites for many years. Starting in the 1990s, she noticed that Pacific Northwest domestic dog remains were of two distinct size categories — large and small. But distinguishing domestic hounds from their wild cousins can be difficult, and most specimens from previous Northwest Pacific Coast zooarchaeological studies lacked species identification, said Madonna Moss, another co-author from the University of Oregon.

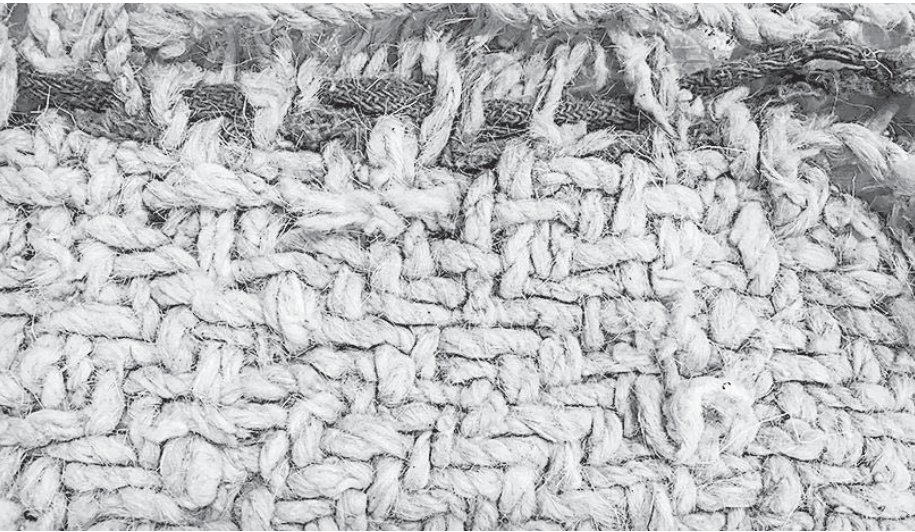
By going back over numerous earlier studies, the team discovered that British Columbia was a pre-contact hot spot for domestic dogs. And on the south coast of British Columbia, smaller dogs that would have had woolly fur outnumbered larger

hunting dogs, and “seemed to be a long-term, persistent part of Indigenous community life for the last 5,000 years,” Dr. McKechnie said.

These knee-high wool dogs weren’t combed like modern pooches but sheared like sheep.

Indeed, journal accounts from a Hudson’s Bay Company fur trading post at Fort Langley, British Columbia, in the early 19th century described canoes from people of the Cowichan tribe that were filled with “dogs more resembling Cheviot Lambs shorn of their wool.”

The Cowichan peoples of eastern Vancouver Island are recognized to this day for their textiles. Lydia Hwitsum, a former elected Cowichan chief, said she learned traditional weaving from her mother, who explained to her daughter that dog wool



TESSA CAMPBELL



IAIN MCKECHNIE

was historically incorporated into yarn-making “to make the fibers even stronger.”

But with colonization came imported textiles. Demand for wool from these small white dogs dropped, their numbers dwindled and the breed is believed to no longer exist.

Detailed knowledge of the dog wool industry has long been lost. But a growing body of scientific evidence suggests its use was once common.

Caroline Solazzo, a researcher at the Smithsonian Museum Conservation Institute, has tested 11 ancient Coast Salish blankets for signatures of dog hair. She found them in seven of the specimens. And of 47 blankets microscopically analyzed by Elaine Humphrey at the University of Victoria, all but three contained dog wool.

After “10 years of plodding” through data gleaned from merged piles of dog bone data, Dr. McKechnie said his team has found evidence of deep relationships between coastal Indigenous communities and domestic dogs, highlighting their 5,000-year-old fashion industry that relied on woolly breeds of man’s best friend.

Carly Ameen, a bioarchaeologist and dog specialist at the University of Exeter in England who was not involved in Dr. McKechnie’s study, said these new identifications of old bones are “hard to validate objectively.” But she said the study makes an excellent case for mining the mountains of dog data already available.

“If we are going to find more direct evidence for these wool dogs, and other dog ‘types’ in the Americas, it is not going to be through the excavation of new remains as much as through the detailed investigation of well-recorded and conserved collections such as this one,” she said.

Back in Tulalip, Ms. Campbell’s blanket discovery has invigorated her whole community’s journey to reawaken ancient Coast Salish textile weaving.

And as for the unusual tale of dogs bred for wool, that’s a yarn still unraveling.

A blanket dated to about 1850, believed to be made from the wool of a dog bred by Coast Salish people for its fleece. Left, the skull of a “wool dog” recovered by researchers in 2018.

A study highlights a 5,000-year-old textile tradition.

A Sea Lion’s Last Chance: Brain Surgery



SHAWN JOHNSON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1

pletes inhibitory cells that ordinarily help offset excitatory cells in the brain’s electrical system. When those cells get out of balance, seizures result.

The same phenomenon has led to the closing of crab fisheries to prevent people from eating domoic acid-laden crabs and contracting a condition called amnesic shellfish poisoning.

In sea lions, scientists have used brain imaging to document how the toxins also lead to degradation of a part of the brain called the hippocampus that is involved in memory, navigation and other functions. When sea lions show up on Pacific Coast beaches in the summer, some exhibiting seizures get rescued and are given supportive care, but many die.

Researchers first discovered Cronutt after he ran aground in November 2017 in San Luis Obispo, Calif., and made his way into a parking lot where he was deemed a “traffic hazard.” He didn’t seem sick. They tagged him for future reference and released him a few weeks later.

Shortly after, farther north in Marin County, he was identified on a beach where he visited several residences and climbed

on porches and tables. This time, he took himself back out to the water, and then a week later was found on Ocean Beach in San Francisco, disoriented. “A member of the public reportedly tried to feed him a burrito,” according to a chronology provided by Dianne Cameron, the director of animal care at Six Flags Discovery Kingdom.

Ms. Cameron would become his caretaker after Cronutt — named for the pastry that is a combination of a croissant and a doughnut — showed up again on a beach in January 2018, this time in Sonoma County. He stood in front of a public beach bathroom, blocking access. Shortly after, at the Marine Mammal Center in Sausalito, Calif., he was deemed unreleasable because he wasn’t eating, and had showed up multiple times on land. Then he had a grand mals seizure.

The researchers couldn’t find a zoo home for the damaged animal. The National Marine Fisheries Service called Ms. Cameron at Six Flags and asked if she’d take him in because the park has facilities to care for rescues and a history of adopting animals with medical issues. She didn’t hesitate.

“He’s such a sweet boy,” she said. At Six Flags, he didn’t perform as most of the others sea mammals there do, like Pirate, a

harbor seal, or the 500-pound Wyland and Shark Bite, both sea lions. Cronutt kept having seizures and intensifying and more frequent cycles where he’d just stop eating for awhile and grow particularly inattentive, behavior that the vets attributed to damage to his brain. His weight fell from a high of 255 pounds to 175.

After his latest terrible bout, on Sept. 18, Ms. Cameron “went home and prayed that he’d make it through the night.”

In the ensuing days, she and Dr. Simeone began discussing whether it was time to euthanize Cronutt.

“Then my husband said, ‘You’ve got to call Scott!’” Dr. Simeone recalled.

Her husband, Dr. Shawn Johnson, also a vet, was referring to Dr. Baraban, the researcher at U.C.S.F. His lab had previously been in contact with the couple and the Marine Mammal Center because they knew about the problem in sea lions and felt they were ready to move up the food chain with their experiments.

Dr. Baraban said the surgery, even if successful, wouldn’t help people with epilepsy anytime soon because of the challenges of using pig cells in human brains as well as other factors.

“My immediate hope is to help the sea lions and sea otters,” he said.

On the day before the surgery, Cronutt appeared to be entering another difficult phase. His appetite had fallen sharply, de-

Left, Dr. Claire Simeone preparing Cronutt for his surgery earlier this month. Below, Cronutt with his caretaker, Dianne Cameron, the director of animal care at Six Flags Discovery Kingdom in California.

‘We’d tried everything. We needed more extreme measures.’

DR. CLAIRE SIMEONE
CRONUTT’S LONGTIME VET

spite energetically throwing his red ball and splashing in the water.

Ms. Cameron occasionally approached him with a herring that had his anti-seizure medications stuffed inside its dead maw. “C’m on, Cronutt,” she implored. But the sea lion just took the fish into his mouth and spat it out again.

The damaged brain tissue appeared to be interfering with the signal telling him to eat. Ms. Cameron could see a dull tint to his dark-walnut eyes, not bloodshot and droopy as they sometimes get, but ominous.

She reflected on the surgery, the results of which won’t be known for 30 days, when researchers will see if his behavior bounces back as has been the case with mice and rats that received the surgery.

“Even if it doesn’t work, and there’s a chance it won’t work,” Ms. Cameron said, pausing and starting to cry before gathering herself, “maybe Cronutt’s purpose is to educate that there are toxins in our water and our ocean needs our attention.”

On the day after surgery, Cronutt still seemed to have no appetite at first. Then he started barking. Ms. Cameron approached with food, and he devoured two pounds of herring over the course of the morning.

“He ate, followed me all around, was super engaged and really alert,” Ms. Cameron said. “I think he feels really good, considering he had a drill in his brain just yesterday. His eyes look beautiful.”



CHRISTIE HEMM KLOK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

When ‘Extinct’ Doesn’t Necessarily Mean Gone



THE NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, LONDON, VIA ALAMY

The Franklinia tree, noticed by John Bartram, King George III’s botanist, and his son, William, in Georgia in 1765, has not been seen in the wild since 1803.

Dozens of North American plants have disappeared since the settlers arrived. Sort of.

By MARION RENAULT

It isn’t easy to say that anything has truly “gone extinct.” For starters, an untold number of creatures — especially teensy, nocturnal or otherwise cryptic ones — have vanished before humans ever noticed them.

And once biologists suspect a documented species’ extinction, the challenge then shifts to proving whether it has disappeared forever, or just disappeared from sight. Even when scientists are 99 percent certain that something is gone, they may never know whether pathogens, habitat disturbance, invasive species, climate change or some other force drove them out of existence.

“There’s a sense that we’ve got it down — that we know our flora and we know what’s extinct,” said Anne Frances, the lead botanist for NatureServe, which promotes wildlife conservation. That belief couldn’t be further from the truth, she said.

In a study published in August in Conser-

vation Biology, Dr. Frances and 15 other researchers from across the United States quantified how many trees, shrubs, herbs and flowering plants have vanished from North America since European settlement. After compiling existing information on presumed extinct species and working with local botanists to vet the data, the group narrowed down a list of 65 plant species, subspecies and varieties that have been lost forever in the wild.

That figure is almost certainly an underestimate, said Wes Knapp, a botanist at the North Carolina Natural Heritage Program and a co-author of the study. “That 65 is not rock solid,” he said. “We’re still documenting what’s on the ground, and you can never really prove a hypothesis like ‘extinct.’”

After all, scientists rediscover extinct species all the time, as well as uncover secret extinctions hidden in natural history museum collections. “Humans like to put things into neat categories, but nature doesn’t present itself that way,” Dr. Frances said. “Every plant on this list is its own little mystery.”

Franklinia Tree

Despite the fact that it’s extinct, you could reasonably venture upon Franklinia alatamaha. Considered “extinct in the wild,” the Franklinia tree — along with six other plants listed in the recent study — now exists only in cultivated spaces such as arboretums or botanical gardens.

John Bartram, King George III’s botanist in the Americas, and his son, William, first described the species (and named it for a family friend, Benjamin Franklin) after stumbling upon the unfamiliar tree along the Altamaha River in Georgia in 1765.

In a lucky twist, the younger Bartram returned a few years later to collect seeds and cuttings, and brought them to Philadelphia, where the first cultivated Franklinia tree bloomed in 1781. Within a quarter-century, in 1803, the species was spotted in the wild for the last time.

Today, any Franklinia trees you might encounter in cemeteries, gardens and parks are descendants of Bartram’s cultivations. “It wasn’t meant to prevent extinction,” Mr. Knapp said, “but it did.”

It’s unclear how the tree disappeared, though some have suggested that a soil-borne cotton pathogen, over-collection by nurseries or a change in regional fire frequency could have played a role in its demise. “What we have is conjecture; we really have no idea why it’s gone,” Mr. Knapp said. “But you can buy it if you go to the right place.”

Large-Flowered Barbara’s-Buttons

How do you lose a three-foot-tall daisy forever? By mistaking it for a different flower. At least, that’s what happened to Marshallia grandiflora, a large flowering plant last collected in 1919.

Native to two western counties in North Carolina, the species was, until this year, incorrectly lumped in with a different, more wide-ranging daisy.

In comparing current Marshallias with older herbarium specimens, three botanists noticed a remarkable size and shape difference. By the time it was first described in June, the “new” species was long extinct, for reasons that are not known.

Three other extinct plants listed in the new paper were also similarly discovered in natural history collections within the last 25 years.

“We’re still doing the basic science to untangle what the species are,” said Alan Weakley, director of the herbarium at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and a co-author of the study. “There are undoubtedly more undescribed extinct species sitting in herbaria, collected 100 years ago.”

A Small Solomon’s Seal Variety

Native Americans historically ate the young stems of Solomon’s seal, a wildflower belonging to the same family as asparagus, or cooked their starchy roots into breads and soups. Today, the species continues to be used in herbal medicine.

While most of small Solomon’s seal is doing just fine in the wild, one of its varieties, Polygonatum biflorum var. melleum, is presumed extinct.

Scientists are split on whether the melleum variety, last collected in 1930 and believed to be native to Michigan and Ontario, is actually distinct enough to be categorized apart from other Solomon’s seals. “It’s really murky; the data argues it may or may not even be real,” Mr. Knapp said. “This is on the fringe.”

While the melleum variety made the cut for August’s paper, uncertainty over the existence or status of hundreds of plants left them off the list in the study.

Thismia Americana

In 1912, Norma Etta Pfeiffer, a 24-year-old graduate student at the University of Chicago, made a marvelous botanical discovery near Lake Calumet in Chicago: a truly teensy plant adorned with flowers the size of beads.

The plant, which she named Thismia

americana, belongs to a rare genus that lives as a parasite on subterranean fungi, stealing their energy instead of converting sunlight through photosynthesis.

“They’re small and cryptic and mostly underground,” said Paul Marcum, a botanist at the Illinois Natural History Survey.

“We don’t even know much about the ones we’ve described.”

Like almost two out of three of the plants listed in August’s study, Thismia americana is only ever known to have existed in one location, making it extremely vulnerable to any changes in land use.

Shortly after Dr. Pfeiffer found the centimeter-tall plant, industrial development destroyed the discovery site.

That hasn’t kept subsequent generations of Chicagoans from hunting for it — although the Field Museum’s published guides for Thismia seekers offer little help: “Where to look: Honestly? Your guess is as good as ours.” The species has not been spotted since 1916.

“It’s the holy grail,” Mr. Marcum said. “I still believe it could be out there. I think somebody will be on their hands and knees searching in the soil, and get lucky.”

Franciscan Manzanita

The Franciscan Manzanita has endured not one, but several brushes with extinction. The shrub species, Arctostaphylos franciscana, was presumed to be extinct in the wild for nearly 70 years, stamped out by construction in the Presidio, a national park in San Francisco.

Then, in 2009, Daniel Gluesenkamp, now the executive director of the California Native Plant Society, stumbled upon Franciscan Manzanita in overgrown vegetation near the Golden Gate Bridge.

Unfortunately, the site of its rediscovery lay directly in the path of a “shovel ready” project. “The next best thing we could do was dig this thing up and move it,” Mr. Knapp said. Conservationists relocated the shrub to a protected site and it began propagating. Like the Franklinia tree, the Franciscan Manzanita is now considered extinct in the wild.

“Part of me is sad that we couldn’t allow it to exist in its last remaining natural spot,” Mr. Knapp said. “It’s not a great solution, but it’s much better than being extinct.”

Orbital Niche Pulls in Business and Science

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D1

Amazon stock to finance Blue Origin's research and development. And he has declared broad ambitions for its business, such as competing with Elon Musk's SpaceX and others in the orbital launch business, building a moon lander for NASA astronauts and eventually making it possible for millions of people to live and work in space.

But the cargo of last Tuesday's launch from a test site near Van Horn, Texas, shows that the company is finding a more modest business in the short term: turning the reusable New Shepard rocket and capsule into an effective, and profitable, platform for testing new technologies and performing scientific experiments.

"It was fantastic," said Erika Wagner, Blue Origin's payload sales director, who was in West Texas. "We were watching across the valley and watching the rocket climb up."

Tucked under the collar at the top of the booster on the launch were prototypes of sensors that could help NASA astronauts safely reach the lunar surface in a few years. It is part of NASA's Tipping Point program, which seeks to push innovative technologies.

"Although not identical to a lunar lander, it is representative in that full-flight profile of approaching at a high rate of speed, and then throttling up an engine and doing a propulsive landing," said Stefan Bieniawski, who leads the Blue Origin side of the partnership with NASA. "In fact, I think we're actually at slightly higher speeds than you would be approaching the moon. So it gives a little bit of a stress test for some of these sensors."

Unlike NASA's Apollo missions from 1969 to 1972, which visited different parts of the moon, the space agency's current Artemis program aims to make repeated visits near the lunar South Pole, where eternally shadowed craters contain large amounts of water ice. That will require the ability to land close to the same spot again and again.

To that end, NASA's Langley Research Center in Hampton, Va., has spent years developing a system that bounces light off the surface to measure altitude and velocity of a descending spacecraft. This technology, lidar — short for light detection and ranging — is similar to radar, but it should be able to provide more precise readings.

A second NASA system aboard the flight was a test of what is known as terrain relative navigation. Because there are no global positioning system satellites orbiting the moon, a spacecraft has to rely on its own smarts to determine its exact location. With this navigation system, a computer compares images taken by a camera with those stored onboard to determine its location.

The navigation system was turned on close to where the New Shepard booster reached its highest point.

"The terrain navigation does not sit there and say, 'Hey, I see a crater,'" Mr. Bieniawski said. "It's really looking for contrasts in the scene. And in that way, it really doesn't care whether it's on the moon or whether it's here on Earth."

NASA paid Blue Origin \$1.5 million to mount its systems on two flights of New Shepard. The second flight will add another lidar instrument that will create a three-dimensional map of the landscape below in order to identify and avoid obstacles.

"Our goal is to ready a plug-and-play precision landing system that NASA and industry can use based on a mission's specific need," Jim Bridenstine, the NASA administrator, said in a statement. "This integrated New Shepard test will put us on that path, giving us unmatched intel about how the sensors, algorithms, and computer work together."

While there were no people in the New Shepard capsule for the flight, it was not empty. It carried NASA-financed science experiments as well as experimental cargo from private companies. New Shepard flights have already carried more than 100 payloads to the edge of space.

"We make money on every flight," said Bob Smith, the chief executive of Blue Origin.

Dr. Wagner of Blue Origin said the scientists came to West Texas and were excited to watch the launch and start digging into the results the same day. "They're just bouncing up and down on their toes," she said.

The experiments on last week's flight included the second iteration of a project from Daniel Durda, a scientist at the Southwest Research Institute in Boulder, Colo. He called it BORE II, where BORE is a simple acronym for Box of Rocks Experiment.

"It's literally a box of rocks," Dr. Durda said.

He is trying to develop a system that can scoop up samples of dirt from an asteroid. BORE II contains crushed-up material that is similar in composition to certain carbon-rich asteroids.

During the weightless portion of the flight, a tetrahedron-shaped collection device, which Dr. Durda called a starfish, will unfold. Magnets mounted on the outer triangles — the arms of the starfish — should attract and hold onto some of the crushed rocks. The device will then fold up again, trapping the material.

"It's kind of a biomimicry thing if you think about it," Dr. Durda said. "The way starfish feed is they kind of extrude their stomach out and they pull them back in and collect what they're doing. That's kind of what we're doing here."

By testing the design on a suborbital flight, Dr. Durda can find out how much material can be collected and whether the apparatus operates without jamming.

"It's the very first step in understanding how you might incorporate a sampler mechanism like this into a spacecraft rendezvous mission where you dump maybe dozens, many dozens of these little things across the surface of an asteroid," he said.

In the past, scientists wanting to study something in a weightless environment had other methods, but they all had drawbacks. They could drop an object off a tower, offer-

ing a few seconds of zero gravity. Or put an experiment on an airplane flying a path of an object in free fall, which provided about 20 seconds of floating.

The luckiest experimenters could endeavor to be selected among the few projects sent to orbit, first on the space shuttle and now to the International Space Station.

Vehicles known as sounding rockets also headed to about the same altitude as New Shepard goes, but because they flew only once, they were much more expensive. The New Shepard vehicle has launched and landed seven times.

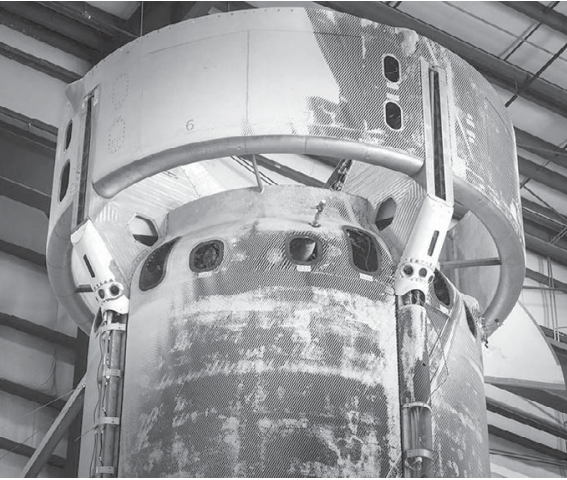
With the new suborbital vehicles that fly repeatedly, the price of getting to space is much lower for NASA as well as for academic and private scientists.

The most popular option, Mr. Smith said, is what Blue Origin calls a single storage locker. "That starts around \$100,000 for about 25 pounds and something the size of, let's say, a microwave," he said. "But we also have many payloads that we use with students that go as low as \$8,000."

The suborbital research is also a sign that Blue Origin is making a turn to becoming a



PHOTOGRAPHS BY BLUE ORIGIN



profitable business as it prepares to sell tickets to space tourists. It has yet to announce a date or price for those flights.

"It's been a lot of growth in facilities personnel actually trying to understand how do we run this much more like a business as opposed to a research organization," Mr. Smith said. "We've also gone from virtually zero revenue to now making hundreds of millions of dollars of revenue annually."

The company has competition for the

Top, a view from Blue Origin's New Shepard booster. The company has a partnership with NASA. Above is the reusable booster at its North Texas launch facility.

The Spacecraft Took Their Homework

By KENNETH CHANG

Back in 2015, students in Maggie Samudio's second-grade class at Cumberland Elementary School in West Lafayette, Ind., were contemplating an offbeat science question: If a firefly went to space, would it still be able to light up as it floated in zero gravity?

Ms. Samudio said she would ask a friend of hers, Steven Collicott, an aerospace professor at nearby Purdue University, for the answer.

"He teaches a class on zero gravity, and he would be the perfect person to answer the question," Ms. Samudio recalled in an email.

A day later, Dr. Collicott replied, and Ms. Samudio was surprised by his answer: Instead of guessing, why not actually build the experiment and send it to space?

Blue Origin, the rocket company started by Jeff Bezos, chief executive of Amazon, was planning to offer the ability for schools to fly small experiments on its New Shepard suborbital spacecraft for as little as \$8,000.

"That is a game changer," said Erika Wagner, the payload sales director at Blue Origin. "Kids as young as elementary school are flying things to space."

Dr. Collicott, who had sent several fluid flow experiments on New Shepard launches, pointed Ms. Samudio and her second graders to Blue Origin.

"For the small payload 4 inches square by 8 inches tall, we're able to fly that for half the cost of high school football uniforms," Dr. Collicott said. "So really any school district now that affords football can afford spaceflight."

Cumberland Elementary has not been the only school to see the value of paying for an experiment aboard the New Shepard rocket. A Montessori middle school in Colorado sent up a sensor package designed and programmed by the students. An Alabama high school launched an experiment to test temperature fluctuations in microgravity. And this past December, an elementary school in Ohio sent up baby jellyfish.

On board for the latest flight, which launched last Tuesday, were 1.2 million tomato seeds, which will be distributed to students in 15,000 classes, kindergarten through high school, across the United States and Canada.

Following Dr. Collicott's suggestion, Ms. Samudio's children at Cumberland got to work, collaborating with Purdue students in Dr. Collicott's classes.

"For the next two years, I had aeronautical engineers in my second-grade class-



BLUE ORIGIN

room teaching mini-lessons on basic principles of flight and propulsion as well as the basic principles of 'firefly' chemistry," Ms. Samudio said.

On Dec. 12, 2017, the firefly experiment was on board New Shepard. It did not contain any actual fireflies. "It appears when scared, fireflies don't light up," Dr. Collicott said. "And we were concerned that the boost would scare them. And then there's also issues of I don't know how to keep fireflies alive and keep them happy."

Instead, the apparatus replicated the chemistry of how fireflies generate light, with syringes mixing the glow-creating substances together as the capsule reached the top of the trajectory more than 60 miles above West Texas. A tiny video camera recorded what happened in the payload box.

Dr. Collicott attended the launching, and two days later, was back in Ms. Samudio's classroom presenting the results.

Fireflies can indeed glow in space. "That kind of turnaround is just amazing, that spaceflight to these students is not distant," Dr. Collicott said. "It happens fast. It's kind of cool."

The space experiment wrapped into a larger project undertaken by Ms. Samudio's classes. One of her students, Kayla Xu, had noted with distress that most states had a state insect, and Indiana did not; she wanted to fix that.

That effort succeeded, too. On March 23, 2018, Gov. Eric Holcomb went to Cumberland Elementary School to sign a bill that



STEVEN COLLICOTT

declared the Say's firefly, a species native to the area, the state insect of Indiana.

"Several parents told me that the simple question of asking their child what they had done in school that day exploded into amazing family conversations, extra reading and research, and the contemplation of future personal pursuits and goals," Ms. Samudio said.

tronomical observations.

When Blue Origin and Virgin Galactic start flying people, that will open an opportunity for scientists to accompany their experiments. That could greatly simplify some research, because scientists are much more flexible than machines.

"There are many things you can do with humans in the loop just because automation is expensive," Dr. Stern said. "And automation is failure prone."

Southwest Research Institute has purchased its own seats for its scientists on future Virgin Galactic flights.

"We have to resort to automation in spaceflight because it's been expensive and difficult to send the experimenter," Dr. Stern said. "But in every other field, from volcanology to oceanography to polar studies, we send the experimenters into the field to do the experiment."

One of those seats is to be filled by Dr. Durda, who will accompany a future Box of Rocks experiment.

By operating the experiment himself, he said, he would gain direct experience with how these materials behave on an asteroid.

"I think it's very important for us to understand the conditions on their surfaces at a 'gut instinct' level the same way a field geologist walking a Western desert landscape here on Earth does," Dr. Durda said.

"We've attained that level of familiarity in just about every other aspect of field and laboratory science," he said. "It's long past time for space scientists to be able to work with that same enabling benefit."

Well

In Brief | NICHOLAS BAKALAR

SLEEP

A Possible Aid for Insomnia

 Weighted blankets, which have long been popular aids to induce calm, could help reduce insomnia, a new study suggests.

Swedish researchers studied 121 patients with depression, bipolar disorder and other psychiatric diagnoses, all of whom had sleep problems. They randomly assigned them to two groups. The first slept with an 18-pound blanket weighted with metal chains, and the second with an identical-looking three-pound plastic chain blanket.

The study, in *The Journal of Clinical Sleep Medicine*, used the Insomnia Severity Index, a 28-point questionnaire that measures sleep quality, and participants wore activity sensors on their wrists to measure sleep time, awakenings and daytime activity.

More than 42 percent of those using the heavy blanket scored

low enough on the Insomnia Severity Index to be considered in remission from their sleep troubles, compared with 3.6 percent of the controls. The likelihood of having a 50 percent reduction on the scale was nearly 26 times greater in the weighted blanket group.

The weighted blankets did not have a significant effect on total sleep time, but compared with the controls, the users had a significant decrease in awakenings after sleep onset, less daytime sleepiness and fewer symptoms of depression and anxiety.

The senior author, Dr. Mats Adler of the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm, acknowledged that this is only one study and doesn't provide scientific proof that the blankets work.

"I have colleagues using it, and they love it," he said, "but that's not proof. This study is an indication that they may work, but more studies should be done."

BODY

Physical Therapy and Back Pain

 People with back pain are often referred for physical therapy, though studies on its effectiveness have been mixed. A randomized trial suggests that, despite some limitations, physical therapy may have real benefits.

Researchers studied 220 adults, ages 18 to 60, with back pain and sciatica (pain radiating down the leg) of less than three months' duration. They assigned half to usual care — one session of education about back care — and half to four weeks of physical therapy, including a specified program of exercise and hands-on therapy. All patients completed eight well-validated questionnaires covering back and leg pain, disability, physical activity and quality of life.

At four weeks, six months and one year, the therapy group

showed less disability and decreased back pain intensity compared with the controls. There was no difference between the treatment group and controls in how much additional health care they used or how many days of work they missed, but the therapy group was more likely to rate the treatment as successful at one month and one year. The study is in *The Annals of Internal Medicine*.

"We know that with back pain and sciatica, being active and exercising within your limits is a good thing to do," said the lead author, Julie M. Fritz, a professor of physical therapy at the University of Utah. "But there's an additive benefit in the care provided by a physical therapist. With added physical therapy, you're less likely to have a prolonged case of disability."

MOVEMENT

Dancing May Help Prevent Falls

 Dancing may help prevent falls in the elderly, a review of studies suggests. And the more that older people danced, the better.

Researchers combined data from 29 controlled trials in healthy people over 65 of "dance-based mind-motor activities" involving coordinated upright movements, structured through music or rhythm, with distinctive choreography and interactions with other people — in other words, dancing. The studies tested ballroom dancing, folk dancing, line dancing, eurythmics, tai chi and other styles.

Compared with their peers who engaged in walking, seated exercise, general aerobics and other types of exercise, those who engaged in dance-based activities had a 37 percent reduced risk of falling in eight trials, and a 31

percent reduced number of falls in seven other studies. Several trials showed significant advantage over controls in balance and lower body strength but not upper body strength.

The review, in *JAMA Network Open*, found that dancing three or more sessions a week, and continuing to do so for 12 to 24 weeks, was associated with greater benefits than shorter interventions.

The lead author, Michèle Matile, a doctoral student at the University of Zurich, pointed out that most trials reported at least 80 percent adherence, which is probably higher than for most other types of exercise programs. "Participants liked the interventions, and thus they had fun doing them," she said. "The most important thing for physical activity to have a beneficial effect is that you stick with it — life long."

EAT

We'll Find Those Potato Chips

 It is easier to remember where the chocolate is than where the cucumbers are, new research suggests.

Dutch scientists set up an experiment where people walked around a room, guided by arrows on the floor. They moved from table to table on which eight foods were placed: caramel cookies, apples, chocolate, tomatoes, melons, peanuts, potato chips and cucumbers.

They were instructed to either smell or taste the foods and to rate them on likability and familiarity. But they were not told the real purpose of the experiment: to determine how well they could remember where the foods were located in the room.

Of the 512 people in the experiment, half did the test by tasting,

half by smelling the food. After leaving the room, they smelled or tasted the foods again in random order and were asked to locate them on a map of the room they had just traversed.

The results, published in *Scientific Reports*, indicated they were 27 percent more likely to correctly place the high-calorie foods than the low-calorie foods they tasted, and 28 percent more likely to correctly locate the high-calorie foods they smelled.

"Our results seem to suggest that human minds are adapted to finding energy-rich food in an efficient way," said the lead author, Rachelle de Vries, a doctoral candidate at Wageningen University & Research in the Netherlands. "This may have implications for how we navigate our modern food environment."

PHYS ED | GRETCHEN REYNOLDS

Learning to Like Vigorous Workouts

A study finds that many adults overcame their trepidation of high-intensity interval training.

PEOPLE WHO HAVE NEVER tried intense interval training might be surprised to find that the workouts can be more appealing than they anticipate, according to a new study of people's emotional reactions to different types of workouts.

The study, which involved inactive adults sampling intervals and other types of exercise, often for the first time, found that some — although not all — of them preferred the intense efforts to gentler workouts. The findings challenge common assumptions about the disagreeableness of high-intensity exercise and also suggest that the best way to decide which workout might entice you is to play the exercise field.

Almost anyone with a passing interest in fitness is familiar with the concept of high-intensity interval training. Consisting of brief, repeated bursts of strenuous exercise interspersed with periods of rest, HIIT has become a trendy if controversial way to work out.

Past studies show that even a few minutes of interval training improve fitness and health as much as hours of milder exercise. But in some cautionary psychological studies, novice exercisers report disliking such intense training, which would seem to limit the workouts' long-term allure.

Few of these past studies have directly compared people's feelings about intense and moderate exercise in head-to-head, in-depth exercise matchups, however. So, for the new study, which was published in August in *Psychology of Sport & Exercise*, researchers at the University of British Columbia, in Kelowna, recruited 30 sedentary but otherwise healthy young men and women who said that they had not tried intense interval training before.

The researchers invited the men and women to the lab and talked to them there, at some length, about what they had heard about interval training and more-traditional exercise, including whether they thought they would be able to complete such workouts and enjoy them.

In general, the volunteers expressed knowledge of but also trepidation about interval training. Most worried that such



GETTY IMAGES

workouts would be beyond them, physically, and would feel awful.

Then the researchers asked the volunteers to exercise. On one visit to the lab, each completed a standard, moderate workout, riding a stationary bicycle for 45 minutes at a sustainable pace. During another visit, they all tried HIIT for the first time, pedaling strenuously for one minute, resting for a minute, and repeating the sequence 10 times. During a third session, they were introduced to super-short intervals, consisting of three repetitions of 20-second, all-out pedaling spurts, with two minutes of rest between each interval.

During and after each workout, the researchers asked the volunteers how they felt. In general, most gasped that they were not having fun during the interval sessions. But afterward, reflecting on the experience, many told the researchers that maybe those workouts had been tolerable, after all. Surprised and pleased they had gotten through the intervals, a majority of the volunteers reported that they now considered the longer HIIT session to have been the most pleasant of all of the workouts.

As a final step in the study, the researchers asked the volunteers to go home and work out on their own for a month, keeping exercise logs, then return to the lab to talk with the researchers again.

This month of do-it-yourself workouts proved to be revealing. Almost everyone remained active, with most completing fre-

quent, moderate exercise sessions. But many also threaded some sort of interval training into their weekly workouts, although few of these sessions replicated the structured intervals from the lab. People tended to sprint up and down stairs or grunted through some quick burpees and other body weight exercises.

Most interesting, during their subsequent, prolonged interviews with the researchers, the volunteers who interval trained on their own said they felt more engaged and motivated during those workouts than in the longer, continuous-intensity sessions, even when the intervals were physically draining.

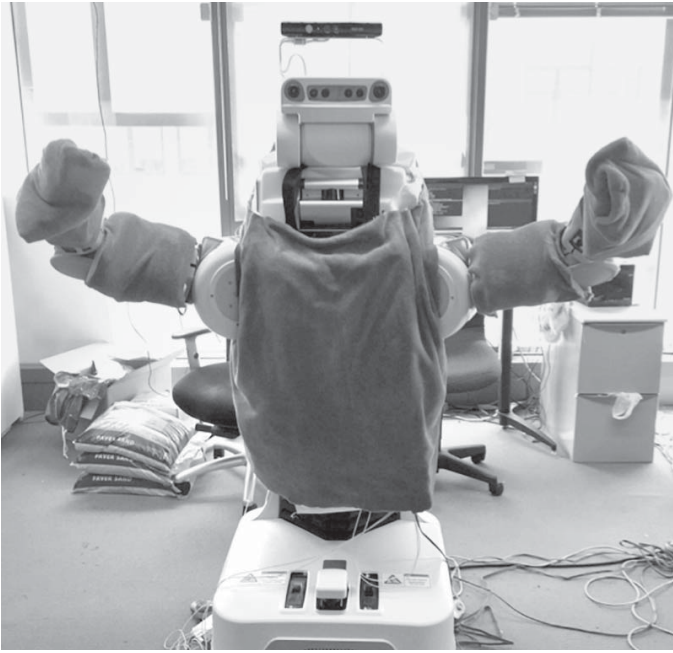
The upshot of the study data would seem to be that many of us might want to consider HIIT, if we have not already, said Matthew Stork, a postdoctoral fellow at the University of British Columbia, who led the new study. We might surprise ourselves by liking the workouts.

But, he points out, some volunteers continued to prefer the familiar, less-intense exercise, and almost everyone completed more of those sessions than of intervals.

"What the data really show is that there is no one-size-fits-all way to work out," Dr. Stork said.

This study involved healthy young adults and followed them for a month. Whether people who are older or have health concerns will respond similarly remains uncertain.

Embraceable You?



VIA ALEXIS BLOCK

The HuggieBot 1.0, a robot used in research on hugging.

do you prefer?" This framing makes the question about the other person's preferences.

Dr. Ross noted that asking for consent for interpersonal touch is crucial. This extends to children, too — no matter how much you want a hug from your niece or nephew. "We're sending our kids really mixed messages when we say 'our bodies are our own,' but also, 'you need to hug your grandma,'" said Regine Galanti, a child psychologist who practices in Long Island. While it may be challenging to explain to grandma why your child rejected her hug request, in the long run it will help your child understand that it's OK to deny anyone access to your body.

The good news is that once you've established that your hugging partner wants a hug, you'll probably pick up on cues as to how long it should last. Sabine C. Koch, a psychologist and dance movement therapist who is head of the dance therapy master program at SRH University Heidelberg and director of the Research Institute for Creative Arts Therapies, published a paper in 2017 in the journal *Behavioral Sciences* on how people signal the end of a hug.

Dr. Koch, who also studies embodied communication and body rhythms at Alanus University in Bonn, sent graduate students out to train stations and student unions to watch as people hugged, paying particular attention to what happened right before the two parties separated. The students noted that hugs shifted from soft, "round" movements into a series of pats on the back — which she calls a "fighting rhythm." Right after the pats started, the hug ended.

"In most of the cases, people first of all have this very soft hug, and whenever a certain time was passing, they started to pat on the back and then they separated," she said. "This was true for all combinations of women with men and women with women." But for men hugging men, it wasn't true. Their hugs began immediately with patting on the back — that fighting rhythm.

In the next phase of her study, Dr. Koch blindfolded participants and gave them a handkerchief. The blindfolds ensured they weren't picking up visual cues on when the hug was ending, she says. The participants were instructed to drop the handkerchief when the hug was over. When the back pats started, most participants dropped the handkerchief.

If you think you might be one of them and hug for too long? Just pay attention for those taps. That will be your cue that it's time to let go.

Finally, don't worry too much about hugging too tightly. The HuggieBot 1.0 had three pressure settings: light, medium and extra squeeze. Ms. Block said that in her research, study participants most often rated the tightest hugs as their favorites.

When we can hug again, pointers on whether to do it and when to just let go.

By A. C. SHILTON

Alexis Block was worried that the robot she had built was malfunctioning. She was testing the optimal hug duration for her "HuggieBot 1.0," a purple-furred squeeze machine. Ms. Block had built pressure sensors into the machine's torso, so if the human tester tapped or squeezed the robot on the back, it let go. But this hug was going on and on. "I worried that the pressure sensors were malfunctioning," she said.

Her palms began to sweat (getting stuck in the clutches of a giant robot is no one's idea of a good time). But then, the hug ended, and the HuggieBot released its test subject. When Ms. Block, who is working toward her Ph.D. at the Max Planck ETH Center for Learning Systems in both Stuttgart, Germany, and Zurich, Switzerland, asked the subject if something had gone wrong, he surprised her by saying that he had wanted the hug to last a long time. "He said, 'I just needed it, and the robot wasn't going to judge me.'"

As the coronavirus quarantine stretched into months, hugs are among the things isolated people found themselves aching for: Hugs are good for humans — perhaps more valuable than many of us realize.

Research has shown that hugs can lower our cortisol levels during stressful situa-

tions and can raise oxytocin levels and maybe even lower our blood pressure. A 2015 paper published in *Psychological Science* even found that study subjects who got more hugs were less likely to get sick when exposed to a cold virus than those who weren't hugged as often.

"The need for human contact is extremely profound," said Judith Hall, a psychology professor emeritus at Northeastern University who researched interpersonal touch at the university's Social Interaction Lab. But whether to hug someone or not sometimes seems touchy.

Not everyone enjoys having his or her body squished against yours — as evidenced by the wealth of "Not a Hugger" T-shirts available online. Ms. Block's, best friend defines herself as "not a hugger." She makes an exception for Ms. Block, but "she told me she actually preferred hugging my robot to hugging me because sometimes I don't let go," Ms. Block said.

It's not always clear how long your hugging partner wants to hug, or how tight the embrace should be. It's often a matter of judging the other person's comfort level.

Which brings us to the first rule of Hug Club: You don't have to hug anyone you don't want to, and it's best to ask before going in for a squeeze. While, of course, you can simply say, "Can I hug you?" Dr. Wendy Ross, the director of the Center for Autism and Neurodiversity at Jefferson Health in Philadelphia, said a better way to ask is: "Some people like hugs, some don't. What

Well

PERSONAL HEALTH | JANE E. BRODY

‘Ideal’ Blood Pressure Is Called Into Question

Even levels that are generally considered normal may be high enough to foster the development of heart disease.

SO YOU THINK your blood pressure is normal? Think again.

The latest iteration of an “ideal” blood pressure — a level of 120 millimeters of mercury for systolic pressure, the top number — that Americans are urged to achieve and maintain has been called into question by a long-term multiethnic study of otherwise healthy adults.

The study, published in June in JAMA Cardiology, found that as systolic blood pressure rose above 90 mm, the risk of damage to coronary arteries rose along with it. Systolic blood pressure represents the pressure within arteries when the heart pumps (as opposed to diastolic blood pressure, the lower smaller number, when the heart rests).

The new findings suggest a need to look more carefully at why, despite considerable overall improvements in risk factors for heart disease in recent decades, it remains the nation’s leading killer.

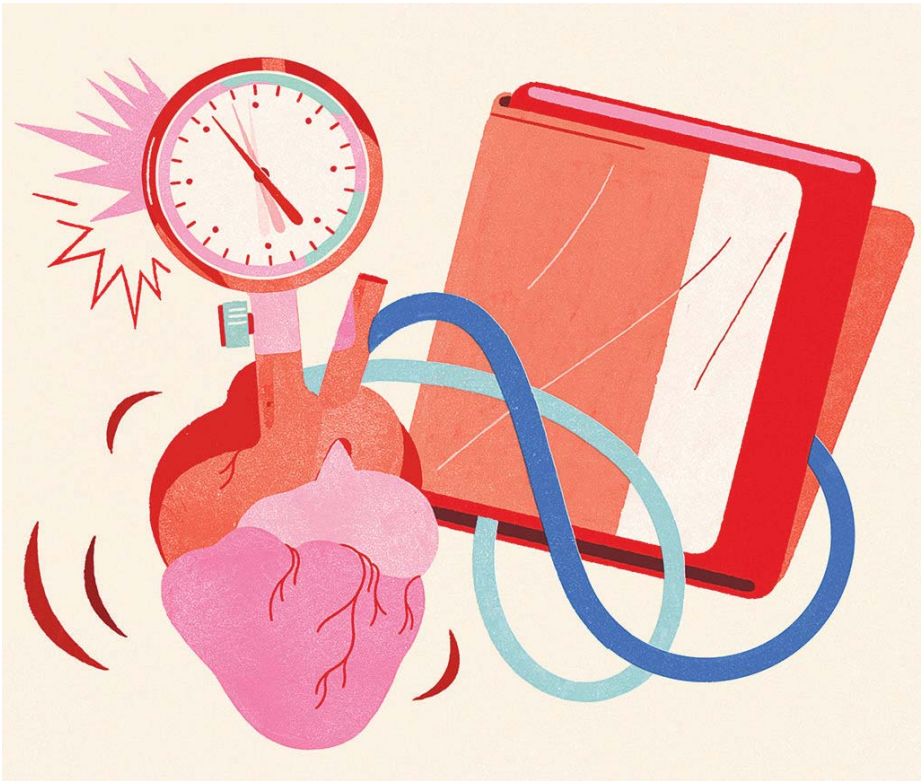
Starting in the 1940s, cardiovascular researchers have unveiled evidence that Americans live in a society that all but guarantees a disproportionately high risk of developing and dying of heart disease. Since my first weeks writing for this newspaper in the early 1960s, I’ve publicized their advice urging people to curb preventable risks to their hearts and blood vessels.

Although significant progress has been made along several fronts, especially drastic cuts in cigarette smoking and lowered levels of artery-damaging cholesterol, atherosclerotic heart disease still kills far too many people in this country long before they reach their potential life span. If not for a plethora of therapeutic advances, like antihypertensive drugs, cholesterol-lowering statins and open-heart surgery to bypass clogged arteries, life expectancy would be a lot worse for many people.

But the overall picture suggests we’ve still got a long way to go. For example, as Americans get fatter and fatter, two major risk factors for heart disease — Type 2 diabetes and high blood pressure — rise along with readings on bathroom scales.

Yes, there are medications to treat both conditions. But why resort to pills, including drugs with unwanted side effects, to modify risks that are within the personal control of most people?

And as shown in the study, even levels of blood pressure that are generally consid-



GRACIA LAM

ered “normal” may indeed be high enough to foster the development of atherosclerotic heart disease by more than fourfold above the risk faced by people with systolic blood pressures that are physiologically ideal.

Heart experts have long known that people in traditional nonindustrial societies typically maintain systolic blood pressures in the low 90s throughout life. Unlike typical Americans, their blood pressure does not rise with age. Rather, it seems, the increase in blood pressure most common among Americans as they age into mid- and late adulthood is an artifact of our sedentary lifestyles and diets too rich in calories and high in sodium, all of which result in stiff, narrowed arteries that result in high blood pressure.

The study, directed by Dr. Seamus P. Whelton, cardiologist and epidemiologist at the Johns Hopkins Ciccarone Center for the Prevention of Cardiovascular Disease in

‘Prevention should start with children, with a healthy diet low in salt and regular exercise.’

DR. DANIEL W. JONES
UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
MEDICAL CENTER

Baltimore, followed a cohort of 1,457 middle-aged men and women initially free of atherosclerotic vascular disease and known risk factors for 14.5 years. As the participants aged, their risk factors for heart disease increased, along with calcium deposits in their coronary arteries and cardiovascular events like heart attacks and strokes.

The research team focused on increases in systolic blood pressure with age, adjusting the data for changes in other heart risks. They found that for every 10 mm increase in systolic blood pressure, the risk of calcium deposits and cardiovascular events rose accordingly. Compared with people with systolic pressures of 90 to 99 mm, those with pressures of 120 to 129 mm were 4.58 times more likely to have experienced a cardiovascular event.

Still, Dr. Whelton said in an interview that it would be wrong to focus preventive strategies on blood pressure alone. People with

high blood pressure, he said, “are also more likely to have higher cholesterol and blood glucose levels. The ideal strategy would focus on all risk factors — blood cholesterol, blood sugar *and* blood pressure. Maintaining a healthful diet, exercising, not smoking and consuming alcohol only in moderation would improve all the risk factors for cardiovascular disease.”

Levels of what doctors consider a healthy systolic blood pressure have been falling for about half a century. In August 1950, a report in JAMA suggested that labeling systolic blood pressures of 140, 150 or 160 mm as abnormally high is “arbitrary, particularly when age is concerned.” The authors suggested that raising acceptable blood pressure levels for people over 40 “would result in a decrease in the reported incidence of hypertension and thus allay some of the widespread and unnecessary fear regarding high blood pressure.”

The latest blood pressure advisory, issued in 2017 by the American Heart Association and American College of Cardiology, considers a systolic blood pressure of 120 mm the upper limit of normal, and defines 130 mm and above as high blood pressure that warrants treatment with lifestyle measures or medication.

In an editorial accompanying the new study, Dr. Daniel W. Jones, hypertension specialist at the University of Mississippi Medical Center who helped formulate the current blood pressure guidelines, wrote, “the risk imposed by a blood pressure level below the currently defined hypertensive level is continuous beginning with a systolic blood pressure as low as 90 mm mercury.”

Dr. Jones said in an interview, “Normal blood pressure can be in the 90s, which is what it is in young healthy women, before the vascular system is damaged by elevated blood pressure over the years. Prevention should start with children, with a healthy diet low in salt and regular exercise, and adults should avoid gaining weight with age, which I realize is very difficult to do in our toxic food society.”

In praising me for maintaining a systolic blood pressure of 100 to 110 throughout my adult life, he said, “It’s rare for Americans to reach your age of 79 and not have hypertension.”

When I asked why doctors don’t put more emphasis on maintaining youthful levels of blood pressure, Dr. Jones said that in the 1960s medical schools taught that blood pressure should rise with age to assure an adequate blood supply to the brain.

“Only in recent decades has it been accepted that it’s actually better for the brain, kidneys and heart to keep blood pressure down as people age,” he said.

During Lockdown, a Drop in Premature Births

A study bolsters anecdotal evidence that the two are connected, but not everyone may have benefited.

By ELIZABETH PRESTON

Some public health researchers are seeing hints that the coronavirus pandemic might help solve a longstanding puzzle: What causes premature birth?

Studies in Ireland and Denmark this summer showed that preterm births decreased in the spring during lockdowns to stop the spread of the virus in those countries. Anecdotally, doctors around the world reported similar drops. They speculated that reduced stress on mothers, cleaner air or better hygiene might have contributed. A large study from the Netherlands, published last week in The Lancet Public Health, has yielded even stronger evidence of an association between the lockdowns and a smaller number of early births.

The authors used data from a national newborn screening program. As in the United States, nearly all babies in the Netherlands have a spot of blood collected a few days after birth and tested for certain diseases. Information including the babies’ gestational ages — at how many weeks of the mother’s term they were born — is collected at the same time.

The Dutch researchers examined newborn blood screening data from 2010 to 2020, which included more than 1.5 million infants. Over 56,000 of those babies were born after the Netherlands started locking down in response to the pandemic.

With their large data set, the researchers compared early births in windows one to four months before and after the lockdown. Looking at the same windows in earlier years let them account for any other trends, such as seasonal changes in premature birth. No matter which windows they used, the researchers saw that premature births had dropped after March 9, when the government in the Netherlands began warning the public to take more hygiene measures and to stay home if they had symptoms or possible exposures to the virus. Within the next week, schools and workplaces began to close down.

“We could see that this impact was real,” said Dr. Jasper Been, a neonatologist at Erasmus Medical Center in Rotterdam and the study’s lead author. The reduction was from 15 percent to 23 percent, he said.

Dr. Roy Philip, a neonatologist at University Maternity Hospital Limerick in Ireland and author of the earlier study finding fewer preterm births this spring in the



CHRIS MCGRATH/GETTY IMAGES

country, said he was “truly delighted” to read the new paper. He said it suggested that the lockdown did, in fact, cause the drop in early births. Unlike the Irish and Danish studies, the new Dutch study showed a decrease across all ages of premature babies — not only the earliest ones.

But as is often the case after such an investigation, Dr. Been said, “you have more questions than you started out with.”

One of those unanswered questions is about stillbirths. In the best-case scenario, the premies that were missing from hospitals this spring were born as healthy full-term infants. But it’s possible that some of

Doctors in Istanbul wheeling in a preterm newborn to meet his mother, who was discharged after recovering from Covid-19.

those missing premies died, instead.

Stillbirths “might actually be the dark side of this,” Dr. Been said. Researchers couldn’t measure stillbirths in the Dutch data set, because only live infants undergo newborn screening. If most of the missing premies were actually stillborn, Dr. Been said, there would have to have been a huge increase in stillbirths — maybe three times the usual number, conservatively. No one has reported such a change so far.

At one hospital in London, a study showed an increase in stillbirths after the start of the pandemic (not the lockdown). This increase might have come from hidden

coronavirus infections, the authors wrote, or from women’s reluctance to seek medical care during the pandemic. Studies in Nepal and India showed that mothers were less likely to give birth in hospitals in the spring, and that stillbirths increased in those countries. Further complicating the picture, Covid-19 itself may raise the odds of premature birth.

To find out how pandemic lockdowns affected preterm birth across different countries, the Dutch researchers have joined an international consortium of nearly 40 nations sharing data. Lockdowns might have been good for the health of mothers and babies in some places and not others, Dr. Been said, adding, “In general, we see that this whole pandemic seems to increase inequalities a lot.” The Dutch study even hinted that the drop in preterm births was limited to wealthier neighborhoods, although the result wasn’t statistically significant.

“Boy, did this affect people really differently,” said Jennifer Culhane, a senior research scientist in obstetrics and gynecology at Yale School of Medicine.

Dr. Culhane said the new study confirmed what she had been hearing from colleagues in the United States about fewer preterm birthrates this spring. “Anecdotally, this is what we’re all hearing and feeling,” she said. In the absence of strong evidence in the United States, she and her colleagues have partnered with an insurance company to begin a large-scale study of how lockdowns affected premature births in this country.

She speculates that the lockdown’s effects might have depended on economic circumstances. For mothers who had the resources to work from home, “this could have been a stress-reducing moment,” she said. For essential workers or those experiencing economic hardships, it might have been a different story.

“We see gross inequities in this country,” Dr. Culhane said. “My guess is that women that had no reprieve from rat-racy-type things had, actually, an enhanced burden of stress.”

Scientists have long struggled to find the causes of premature birth, and good ways to prevent it. “We haven’t been able to reduce the preterm birthrate come hell or high water,” Dr. Culhane said. Future studies could finally reveal ways to prevent early births for all mothers — no pandemic needed.

CORONAVIRUS IN DEPTH

Signs of Recovery From Severe Lung Damage

In early studies, some patients showed evidence of healing just weeks out of the hospital.

By LINA ZELDOVICH

When Annie Coissieux tried to stand up for the first time after weeks in the hospital battling Covid-19, she couldn't get on her feet. "My first day after I.C.U., I couldn't leave the chair without the help of two nurses," she recalled from her home in the Drôme region in southeast France. She felt breathless and exhausted after walking for just a few minutes. "Going to the bathroom was a real mission that required time and effort."

Ms. Coissieux, 78, was sent to a nearby pulmonary rehabilitation clinic, Dieulefit Santé, where a physical therapist taught her exercises to help restore her lungs and the muscles involved in breathing.

When she went home three weeks later, Ms. Coissieux could walk close to 1,000 feet with a walker. As she exercised at home, she grew stronger. "Now I can walk 500 meters with no walker," or about 1,600 feet, the retired schoolteacher said. "I can walk up the stairs at my cousin's house." And while she still feels fatigued in the afternoons, she cycles on her indoor bike and swims.

Lingering shortness of breath and diminished stamina have dogged many Covid patients whose lungs were viciously attacked by the coronavirus. Early in the pandemic, doctors worried that Covid might cause irreversible damage leading to lung fibrosis — progressive scarring in which tissue continues to die even after the infection is gone.

According to the World Health Organization, about 80 percent of patients have mild to moderate symptoms, 15 percent develop a severe form of the disease and about 5 percent like Ms. Coissieux escalate to critical.

While global or nationwide statistics on post-Covid lung recovery are not yet available, hospitals and clinics are assessing their cases.

At the peak of the outbreak in New York, about 20 percent of hospitalized patients were in intensive care units, where many needed ventilators, according to Dr. Gabriel C. Lockhart, a pulmonologist at National Jewish Health, a respiratory hospital in Denver, who also volunteered at the Mount Sinai Hospital in New York. "Of the ones who get intubated, at least two-thirds will survive but will require some physical therapy," he said.

It's not known yet how many people will rebound to their pre-Covid status, because so many are still recovering, said Dr. Jafar J. Abunasser, a pulmonologist at Cleveland Clinic. He added that one study of SARS, another coronavirus, published in the journal

Annie Coissieux interviewed with Yara Al Chikhanie's translation from French. Denise Grady contributed reporting.



VISAR KRYEZIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Chest found that about 59 percent of survivors had no lung impairment after one year, while one-third still had some lung abnormalities, which he described as "mild."

During this year's pandemic, few patients suffered such severe lung damage that they required lung transplants, still a rarity worldwide. But that number may climb as some patients' lungs will not improve sufficiently, Dr. Sadia Shah, a pulmonologist at the Mayo Clinic in Jacksonville, Fla., said.

At a recent European Respiratory Society meeting, doctors presented early results of a few small studies that offered a glimmer of hope, indicating that in at least some cases, patients' lungs show signs of recovery, especially with intensive aftercare and exercise.

Yara Al Chikhanie, a doctoral student in lung physiopathology at the Dieulefit Santé, cited the clinic's rehabilitation study of 19 patients at the session.

For patients who were bedridden or intubated in intensive care units for weeks, the ability to breathe on their own was impaired. Their muscles, including the diaphragm — the main breathing muscle that pushes the abdominal organs down so that the lungs can expand — had weakened.

"They spent months in bed and lost their muscle and respiratory capacity," Ms. Al Chikhanie explained.

"It seems that most of these more severe patients recover from severe lung injury," said Dr. Frederic Hérent, who oversaw the study at Dieulefit Santé.



YARA AL CHIKHANIE

Top, the long-term effects of Covid-19 on lung tissue are still unknown. Above, patients exercised at the Dieulefit Santé clinic.

Their symptoms also improved. They coughed less, breathed and walked more easily, in some cases with markedly improved endurance.

"We have seen patients who went on

wheelchairs to rehabilitation but they start walking again," Dr. Löffler-Ragg said. She cited one particular case of an elderly man who needed oxygen before rehabilitation, but now walks up the stairs to his fourth-floor apartment with only mild shortness of breath. "Despite his 78 years, despite Covid pneumonia, he can manage this," she said.

Neither study has been peer-reviewed or published in a scientific journal. But the patients' improvement was encouraging to others who have been treating patients.

Our lungs have good inner healing mechanisms, said Dr. Panagis Galiatsatos, an assistant professor who specializes in pulmonary and critical care at Johns Hopkins Bayview Medical Center in Baltimore.

The infection leaves behind a mess of dead cells, damaged tissues and fluids, caused by the coronavirus and the overzealous response of the immune system that often occurs in Covid patients. But once the infection is gone, the lungs begin to rebuild themselves, using specialized cells devoted entirely to healing.

"They create new cells to replace the diseased ones," Dr. Galiatsatos said. "There are also other cells that try to not only create new cells but promote the architecture of the lungs — not just recreating it, but recreating it to look exactly as it did before."

When that's not possible, scars will form and some may become permanent, but that serves a purpose too. The lungs know that the scarred spot can't perform oxygen exchange, so they won't send blood there. "It's called a shunt," Dr. Galiatsatos said, adding that the lungs will adapt. "They're going to send the blood to the more healthy parts." Breathing and physical exercises can aid this recovery.

Doctors don't yet know how long it will take patients to regain their pre-Covid strength and endurance. In the case of acute respiratory distress syndrome or ARDS, which has been caused by other viruses and has similarities to Covid-19, full recovery can take over a year, but there are no such statistics for Covid yet.

However, the earlier patients start their rehabilitation, the faster they begin to bounce back, which may be another reason for doctors to take them off ventilators sooner, Ms. Al Chikhanie said. That may be possible, especially as scientists understand how to manage the acute infection phase better.

Some people who spent a long time on life support can recover, though they will need a great deal of help and perseverance. "Stay active, move and walk around the house, go up and down stairs," Ms. Al Chikhanie said.

But research is still very nascent about finding the best therapies to help Covid survivors restore their strength and lung capacity. "We really need a couple of years of data, it's far too early for us to have the data about this pandemic," Dr. Abunasser of the Cleveland Clinic said.

A Rapid Test Offers Hope for Community Screening

Encouraging results in a small San Francisco study in identifying infectious people.

By APOORVA MANDAVILLI

A \$5 rapid test for the coronavirus may be nearly as effective as the slower, more complex polymerase chain reaction test for identifying people who may spread the coronavirus, a novel experiment has found.

The study, conducted by scientists at the University of California, San Francisco, is among the first head-to-head comparisons of a rapid test and the P.C.R. diagnostic tool under real-world conditions.

But the number of participants was comparatively small, and the data have not been peer-reviewed or published. A rapid test still cannot conclusively determine that an individual is not infected; the tests are intended primarily to detect the presence of high levels of the virus, rather than its absence, and are authorized only to evaluate symptomatic people.

At the moment, anyone who has been exposed to the virus should be tested by P.C.R., said Joseph DeRisi, an infectious disease expert at U.C.S.F. and a co-leader of the project.

Still, the finding offers hope that rapid tests can be used even more widely to help contain a pandemic that is resurging in the United States. Some epidemiologists have argued that the country relies too heavily on cumbersome P.C.R. tests for screening even as the coronavirus flies through communities.

The new test, Abbott's BinaxNOW, offers results in 15 minutes, compared with the days or weeks people may have to wait for a P.C.R. result.

The Trump administration already has

purchased 150 million BinaxNOW tests and plans to ship them to states for use in schools, nursing homes and meatpacking plants. The tests could also be used to screen people in communities where time, trust and resources are in short supply.

The study assessed the BinaxNOW in one such community, a largely Latino neighborhood in San Francisco. On three mornings in late September, as commuters emerged from a BART train station in the Mission District, they were offered two nasal swabs: one for a P.C.R. test, the other for the rapid test with a simple readout.

The commuters received only the P.C.R. result, by text, but the researchers compared both tests.

Of the 878 people who took the tests at the train station, only 26 tested positive on the researchers' P.C.R. BinaxNOW identified only 15 of them.

But many experts have argued that the P.C.R. test is too sensitive, picking up fragments of the coronavirus lingering in the body long after people have recovered and are no longer infectious. A study by the company Becton Dickinson recently showed that rapid tests correlated better with live virus than P.C.R.

But when they only considered P.C.R. results that corresponded to high viral loads, the researchers found that the BinaxNOW test detected 15 of the 16 people who were most likely to transmit the virus.

"This card will do pretty well at detecting the most infectious people, the people who are actually spreading virus," Dr. DeRisi said, referring to the BinaxNOW. "On the whole, I'm pretty encouraged and very optimistic."

Dr. Yuka Manabe, an expert in infectious disease diagnostics at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, said, "It's a very nice illustration of how an anti-

gen test could be used in real life and might find those patients who are most likely to transmit disease."

The new study was led by Unidos En Salud, a collaboration between researchers at the University of California, San Francisco, and the Latino Task Force on Covid-19.

A study in April by the same team showed that 11 percent of Latino participants at another train station tested positive for the virus when P.C.R. was used, compared with 2.6 percent in the city overall.

About 90 percent of people who tested positive in that study were essential workers, and 88 percent made under \$55,000 a year, said Jon Jacobo, chair of the health committee for the Latino Task Force. Undocumented community members may also not have access to sick pay or to state and federal benefits, he said.

The task force worked with the researchers to design the study and make it financially possible for those who tested positive to isolate. The organization offered two weeks of groceries to those with positive tests, and a community wellness team delivered other necessities.

Beginning July 1, the city guaranteed two weeks of minimum wage, or \$1,285, to anyone who should isolate but could not afford to do so. "The important thing is to always, truly, have a partnership with community," Mr. Jacobo said.

The project benefited from the researchers' experience conducting H.I.V. studies in sub-Saharan Africa. "Working in rural areas in Africa is all about talking with the community and asking the question, 'What works for you?'" said Dr. Diane Havlir, an infectious-disease expert at U.C.S.F. who led the project.

In this case, she said, the community expressed interest in flu vaccination, so the team worked with Walgreens to offer free vaccines at the test site.

Dr. Havlir and other experts acknowledged that BinaxNOW had limitations.

Simple as the test may be, it should be used only by people who are trained to interpret the results, cautioned Jennifer Nuzzo, an epidemiologist at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health.

The tests are "supposed to be administered by a health care professional, but occasionally that gets interpreted as, 'as long as a doctor signs off,'" she said.

Nearly half of those with the high levels of virus did not have symptoms, the U.C.S.F. researchers found. The number was similar in the group who tested positive by P.C.R.

That result suggests that "whether you have a high viral load or low viral load doesn't really matter — you can still equally be asymptomatic" said Dr. K. J. Seung, chief of strategy and policy for Covid-19 response in Massachusetts.

Most coronavirus tests, including various



JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

P.C.R. versions, have not been independently tested or compared against alternatives.

In September, the Food and Drug Administration released results of one effort to assess the tests' sensitivity. The analysis was imperfect, but it offered some insight into the tests' sensitivity, experts said.

The F.D.A. panel looked for the tests' ability to detect the virus in a series of dilutions, as a rough proxy for their sensitivity. The P.C.R. test developed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention ranked somewhere in the middle. Another rapid test by Abbott, called ID Now, is near the bottom.

"What's been difficult as a lab director is that when you look at one package insert compared to the other, the manufacturers weren't consistent about how they assess their limits of detection," said Dr. Susan Butler-Wu, director of clinical microbiology at the University of Southern California. "So I find this very helpful."

A representative at Abbott said the ID Now test had been put at a disadvantage in the F.D.A. analysis because of the sample handling method the agency used.

Rapid tests have received a wave of negative attention following reports of inaccuracies in two such tests used in Nevada. The White House once relied on ID Now to screen visitors, a practice many scientific experts regarded as misguided.

Rapid tests are authorized by the F.D.A. for screening people who are symptomatic and early in the course of their illness.

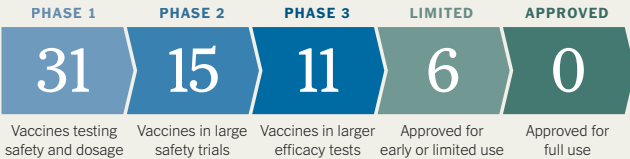
A study compared the rapid tests against the slower, but gold standard, P.C.R. tests at a BART train station in San Francisco last month. The tests are primarily intended to detect the presence of high levels of the virus, rather than its absence, and are authorized only to evaluate symptomatic people.

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Tracking Coronavirus Vaccines and Treatments

Researchers are testing 46 coronavirus vaccines in humans and at least 91 more in animals. Last week Johnson & Johnson paused a Phase 3 trial and Russia approved a Vector Institute vaccine for early use. A vaccine from the Russian Academy of Sciences entered Phase 1/2 and China's Shenzhen Kangtai Biological Products entered Phase 1.



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